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Jerusalem sources say:

Time running out for beleaguered PLO

By DAVID LANDAU
and ASHER WALLFISH

Israel is still hoping that its military pressure will force the PLO to surrender their arms without the need for a direct IDF attack on the city. But policymakers are warned last night that the time for this process to produce the desired results is not unlimited.

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, in a speech in Netanya last night, said Israel "must finish the job (of pushing back the PLO and destroying its infrastructure)... The political solution must give real expression to the right of military successes."

Prime Minister Menachem Begin awaiting the arrival of U.S. special envoy Philip Habib from Beirut with proposals from the National Salvation Committee. Habib was to have come this morning, and his meeting with the premier was to have been followed by a special cabinet meeting (the third this week) which some government sources were labelling as

"crucial."

But there have been delays and this timetable has now been extended through the weekend.

If Habib brings proposals that are unacceptable to Israel there will be renewed pressure in Jerusalem for the IDF to attack West Beirut and the adjoining Palestinian refugee camps where the PLO has been holed up for a fortnight. President Ronald Reagan specifically asked Begin this week not to send the army into West Beirut.

As of now, cabinet sources stressed last night, the earlier cabinet decision not to take West Beirut still stands.

There were complaints in policymaking circles yesterday that this decision, originally published by the government and warmly welcomed and frequently repeated by the opposition and the press, has encouraged the beleaguered PLO not to surrender. One minister admitted that he regretted, for these

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Begin isn't the man to be misled by Sharon

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Prime Minister Menachem Begin "fully aware" of the widespread belief in political circles that Defence Minister Ariel Sharon has been leading him astray — during the war in Lebanon. But, says a close aide of the premier, the belief is groundless. Menachem Begin is not naive. He is not a man to be led, or led astray, by anyone.

Government sources are also hitting back at another allegation, widely voiced in political circles, that Sharon has been feeding the cabinet tendentious or incomplete information during the war.

"Vicious, arrant nonsense," said one minister yesterday. "The reverse of the truth," said another. Regarding Begin and his complex relationship with the defence minister, the premier's close aide indicated that Begin is familiar with the long-standing, insistent insinuations in some military and political quarters that Sharon has a propensity for inaccuracy.

The premier, said the aide, knew the story of David Ben-Gurion reportedly having once asked

Sharon: "Arik, have you stopped lying?"

Given this background, the premier might allow himself "not a pinch of salt, but a plateful of salt" in some of his dealings with Sharon. Such relations were not unusual between politicians, the aide implied, nor were they necessarily harmful — provided both men kept their feet on the ground.

"The main thing is that Begin shares with Sharon a common basic strategy," the aide stressed. This applied to Israel's political and strategic goals in general, and to the goals of the present war in particular.

Thus, both men shared the immediate purpose — neutralizing the PLO's military threat to the Golan. And both Begin and Sharon shared a longer term goal: exploiting the displacement of the PLO "to bring about somehow the establishment of the autonomy in Judea and Samaria."

The premier maintained his own direct channels of communication with the army; he was regularly briefed by top generals, and, of course, by the Mossad.

Regarding the more general

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

Israeli aid for native Lebanese only

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israel's humanitarian aid for Lebanon is directed only towards the indigenous Lebanese population and not to the 250,000-odd Palestinians in the area. This was stated officially yesterday to a top-level delegation of the Joint Distribution Committee by Minister Itzhak Mordechai who is in charge of coordinating the relief activities.

The official explanation for this policy is that the Palestinians' needs are being taken care of by

UNRWA.

However Israeli authorities refused to arrange for the landing at Ben-Gurion airport this week of supplies for Palestinian children sent by another UN agency, UNICEF. UNICEF eventually had to transport the shipment by way of Damascus.

The reason given was that the roads to Lebanon from Israel were clogged with heavy traffic and that it would take a long time to get the UNICEF shipment there.

U.S. officials say they are pressing Israel privately

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Reagan administration officials, stung by the surprise criticism from senators that they were not firm enough with Prime Minister Menachem Begin earlier this week, yesterday insisted they were privately very forceful in insisting on greater Israeli cooperation in easing the tensions in Lebanon and in negotiating a Palestinian autonomy agreement.

Both President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State Alexander Haig, they said, made it clear to Begin that the U.S. policy of avoiding a public clash with Israel is not open-ended.

White House and State Department officials said that Begin, in response, had offered flat assurances that Israel would not move its forces into Beirut to try to crush the remaining PLO strongholds there. Begin, they added, also pledged to support U.S. special en-

voy Philip Habib's efforts to find a diplomatic solution.

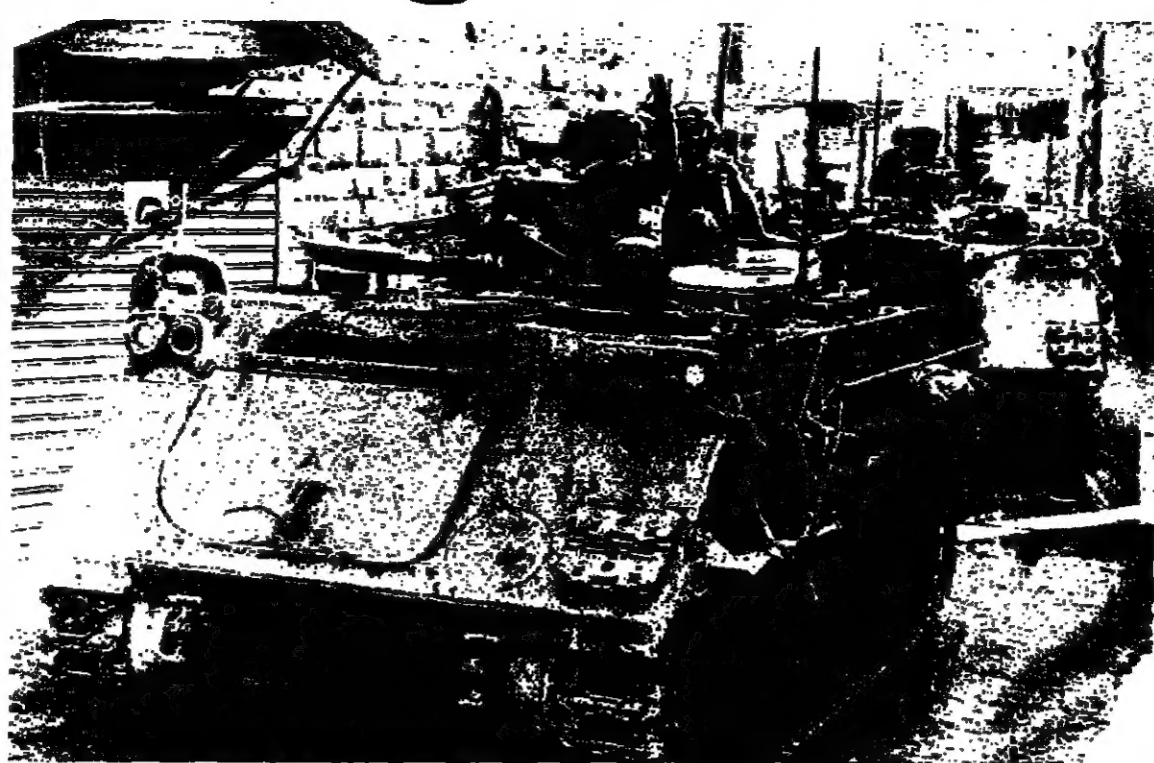
Yet U.S. officials still remain deeply worried about the possibility of an Israeli assault into Beirut. They suspect that Defence Minister Ariel Sharon is "itching" to try to smash the PLO once and for all.

Indeed, some U.S. intelligence sources had feared that an Israeli move into Beirut was imminent on Wednesday, shortly after Begin's return home. That was one reason why the U.S. decided to close its embassy in West Beirut and to urge all Americans remaining in the city to leave.

They were somewhat relieved yesterday that the attack was not started, although they remain nervous.

Administration officials, while themselves avoiding a public confrontation with Begin, were pleased by the widely publicized reports of his stormy session with several U.S. senators. This has tended to

IDF tightens vice on W. Beirut



IDF forces move through the outskirts of Beirut.

(Rahamim Israeli)

Damascus road cut in massive battle

By HIRSH GOODMAN
Post Defence Correspondent

Israeli forces yesterday cut the Beirut-Damascus highway at Bhamdoun, east of Beirut. The Israeli push came in the heaviest fighting of the war since the June 11 cease-fire, with both sides using aircraft, artillery, tanks, and infantry.

The Syrians also brought attack helicopters, missiles, and commando units into the fighting.

Israeli military sources said last night that Syrian losses were thought to be high, including the downing of two MiG jets. Other than saying that all Israel's aircraft returned safely to base, the spokesman refused to divulge any details on Israeli casualties.

Wednesday's Israeli toll was seven dead and 48 injured, also in clashes with the Syrians.

Yesterday's fighting in the Mansouriyah-Aleyah-Bhamdoun triangle, as well as exchanges with the PLO in Beirut, have made Operation Peace for Galilee Israel's longest war, except for the War of Independence. After a short lull, fighting began to escalate at the beginning of this week, with heavy artillery exchanges around West Beirut, leading to an all-out war with Syrian forces in the central region. The eastern sector has been relatively quiet.

With yesterday's action, the IDF has managed to cut off the Syrian forces close to Beirut from their supply lines, forging a link with the Christians in the north. This had been an initial Israeli goal in the early stages of the operation, but had been prevented by the June 11 cease-fire.

The fighting, Israeli spokesmen said last night, was in response to a Syrian attack and not an Israeli attempt to improve IDF lines in Lebanon. But once it began and reached the level it did, a tactical decision was taken to push a bridgehead over the Beirut-Damascus road, and cut off the Syrian forces in Lebanon from their hinterland.

The Syrians have not been surrounded in the central triangle, since they still have a link to the north, but Israel is now in a better position to control access in that direction as well.

The official Israeli version of yesterday's events is that the Syrians launched a combined attack on Israeli forces in the Mansouriyah area at dawn. At 9 p.m. Thursday, Israel had agreed to a Syrian request for a cease-fire transmitted by the Americans. But Israeli sources are now saying that the truce was abused by the Syrians to prepare the dawn attack. The Syrian attack came in several waves, with a sizable Israeli force being caught in the very effective crossfire coming simultaneously from Mansouriyah, Aley and Bhamdoun.

In tandem with an initial artillery bombardment, the Syrians sent in select commando troops armed with Sagger anti-tank weapons to exploit the tactical advantage the Syrians enjoyed in the area, being in possession of the high ranges. Gazelle attack helicopters were also sent in by the Syrians. None were reported shot down.

The Israeli Air Force was sent in towards mid-morning, and aircraft continued to pound Syrian positions

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Jumblatt: It's over for PLO

Post Middle East Affairs Reporter
and agencies

Lebanon's leading leftist leader and one of the main intermediaries between the PLO and the U.S. special envoy Philip Habib was quoted as saying last night that the beleaguered PLO is divided from within and unable to make up its mind whether to lay down its arms or fight to the finish.

"The PLO is trying to gain time," Walid Jumblatt, leader of the leftist Lebanese National Movement which is allied with the PLO, reportedly told a group of Western journalists in his Beirut home. "But personally, I think the PLO is finished. It is over."

He went on to say he hoped the PLO would give up instead of trying to buy time, which he called "stupid and something that will lead to the

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Troops advance north of airport

By DAVID BERNSTEIN
Post Middle East Affairs Reporter
and agencies

Israel made two significant moves in an apparent bid to tighten its stranglehold on West Beirut last night — either in preparation for a final onslaught on the PLO and Syrian forces trapped in the city or, as Lebanon's leading leftist leader Walid Jumblatt suggested, "to create the psychological atmosphere for the PLO's capitulation."

According to agency reports from Beirut last night, Israeli forces advanced north of the airport on the southern outskirts of Beirut, while to the east, around Aley, Israeli planes and artillery engaged in fierce battles with the Syrians in an apparent bid to broaden Israel's hold on the Beirut-Damascus highway.

about two kilometres either side of Aley, which is some 12 kilometres southeast of Beirut, because the shelling and air strikes have been unable to dislodge a stubborn Syrian tank position at Jamhour.

Lebanese state television reported, however, that Israeli tank columns overran Bhamdoun, 25 km. east of Beirut (although a PLO communiqué claimed that Syrian and Palestinian forces stopped the Israeli advance in Bhamdoun's outskirts, destroying 10 Israeli tanks and inflicting 38 casualties).

Syria conceded two MiG interceptors were shot down in a dogfight over Bhamdoun.

At 6 a.m. Thursday, the enemy resumed violating the cease-fire in the area of Bhamdoun and so far using direct bombardment, artillery and the air force," a Syrian communiqué said.

It added: "The enemy tried to advance using tanks and infantry toward Bhamdoun and Chania and our forces are returning the fire and blocking the enemy advance while inflicting heavy casualties upon the enemy. Our air force confronted the enemy planes which tried to shell our forces in the area of Mount Lebanon. Two of our planes were hit as a result of the dogfights."

Israel claims Syria has lost 87 planes since Israel's invasion of Lebanon on June 6.

Meanwhile, Israeli planes reportedly teamed with naval gunboats in a day-long bombardment of PLO positions on West Beirut's seafront boulevard near the newly evacuated American and British embassies, as well as around the airport. AP's Efty visited the Corniche Mazra'a district in late afternoon, less than an hour after Israeli planes struck. He saw more than 30 damaged buildings, some of them completely flattened.

Blood-stained residents, some in apparent state of shock, wandered through the wreckage of collapsed low-income apartment buildings in Abu Shaker Street. Women screamed, some running from the scene of devastation clutching in-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

Voice of Lebanese nationalism in Nabatiye mosque

By CHARLES HOFFMAN and
JOSEPH MORGENTHAU
Jerusalem Post Reporters

NABATIYE. — The voice of resurgent Lebanese nationalism resounded yesterday from a Shi'ite mosque here when about 200 monks and heads of local councils in the Nabatiye district assembled for the first time at the joint invitation of the Lebanese district governor and the Israeli military authorities. Major Sa'ad Haddad, commander of the Christian militias in South Lebanon, received a hero's welcome at this assembly in central Southern Lebanon.

A tacit agreement appears to be emerging among Haddad, the IDF

authorities and the Lebanese government to limit Haddad's sphere of influence to the area south of the Litani River and to encourage the local Lebanese government to reassert its authority over the other areas controlled by the IDF.

In an exclusive interview with *The Jerusalem Post*, Haddad said his policy would be "to establish a real, legitimate civilian authority. Internal security should be handled by the civilian authorities through their police," he said.

"The Free Army of Lebanon should not interfere in problems of internal security. Only when specifically asked will I send

soldiers to assist the civil authorities," Haddad said.

Haddad thought the IDF should not withdraw from Lebanon until the last Syrian soldier leaves. "Only then can Lebanon really be free," he concluded.

The first to address the assembly was Aluf-Mighe Zvi Elpeleg, head of the Unit to Aid Lebanese Civilians. (The IDF is studiously avoiding the title "military governor" in order to stress the primacy of the Lebanese civilian bodies.)

Elpeleg said that the IDF's two aims were to help the civilians reconstruct their lives and restore their honour, and completely to uproot the terrorists in the areas

around the villages and among the population. The IDF had not come to conquer Lebanon, he stressed.

The district governor, Adnan Ibrahim, lashed out at the Arab states for never having solved Lebanon's problems, while he praised the work of the IDF unit. "We are not interested in what Israel is doing on the West Bank and Gaza," he said. "We are Lebanese interested in Lebanon. We welcome Israel's help, but in the final analysis we must help ourselves."

Haddad, a Maronite Christian, told the largely Shi'ite audience they should think of themselves first

(Continued on page 4)

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24.6.82	25.6.82	26.6.82	27.6.82
AMSTERDAM	14 17 18 24	15 18 20 25	16 19 21 26
BRUSSELS	10 13 15 20	11 14 16 21	12 15 17 22
BURNOUS AIRS	0 3 11 32	1 4 12 33	2 5 13 34
CHICAGO	7 46 24 75	8 47 25 76	9 48 26 77
COPENHAGEN	12 15 17 22	13 16 18 23	14 17 19 24
FRANKFURT	13 16 18 23	14 17 19 24	15 18 20 25
GNEVA	15 18 20 25	16 19 21 26	17 20 22 27
Helsinki	8 46 18 64	9 47 19 65	10 48 20 66
HONG KONG	22 27 28 79	23 28 29 80	24 29 30 81
JOHANNESBURG	7 46 24 75	8 47 25 76	9 48 26 77
LISBON	14 17 19 24	15 18 20 25	16 19 21 26
LONDON	14 17 19 24	15 18 20 25	16 19 21 26
MADRID	14 17 19 24	15 18 20 25	16 19 21 26
MONTREAL	10 13 15 20	11 14 16 21	12 15 17 22
NEW YORK	10 13 15 20	11 14 16 21	12 15 17 22
OSLO	10 13 15 20	11 14 16 21	12 15 17 22
PARIS	10 13 15 20	11 14 16 21	12 15 17 22
RIO DE JANEIRO	12 15 17 22	13 16 18 23	14 17 19 24
SAO PAULO	12 15 17 22	13 16 18 23	14 17 19 24
STOCKHOLM	8 46 18 64	9 47 19 65	10 48 20 66
TOKYO	10 13 15 20	11 14 16 21	12 15 17 22
TORONTO	10 13 15 20	11 14 16 21	12 15 17 22
ZURICH	10 13 15 20	11 14 16 21	12 15 17 22

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THE WEATHER

Yesterday's	Today's	Humidity	Min-Max	Min-Max
Jerusalem	27	17-31	32	32
Golan	37	19-34	34	34
Nazareth	37	19-34	34	34
Safed	22	16-25	33	33
Haifa Port	72	22-28	29	29
Tiberias	37	21-38	38	38
Nazareth	36	19-32	33	33
Akko	20	16-24	34	34
Sharon	34	21-32	34	34
Tel Aviv	68	21-29	30	30
B-G Airport	59	18-32	33	33
Jericho	26	25-40	40	40
Gaza	83	17-27	28	28
Beersheva	34	18-34	35	35
Elat	10	24-41	42	42

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Isador Magid, federal president of Keren Hayesod — United Israel Appeal of Australia, was yesterday awarded the Dr. Israel Goldstein Prize of Keren Hayesod, in a ceremony at the president's residence in Jerusalem. The prize, in recognition of outstanding leadership, is the highest honour bestowed by Keren Hayesod. The ceremony was chaired by Dr. Avraham Avihai, Keren Hayesod world chairman, and addressed by President Yitzhak Navon, Dr. Goldstein, former Keren Hayesod chairman in whose honour the prize is named, and Arye Dulzin, Jewish Agency and WZO chairman. The award citation was read by Phil Granovsky, chairman of the Keren Hayesod world board of trustees.

The Nancy Reagan Plaza — "a gift of the women of America" — was dedicated yesterday on the Hebrew University of Jerusalem's Mount Scopus campus in the presence of Sallie Lewis, wife of U.S. Ambassador to Israel Samuel Lewis, and a "solidarity caravan" of nearly 100 university supporters from the American west coast. The group included Hollywood stars Steve Lawrence and his wife Eydie Gorme, television personality Jan Murray and fashion trend setter Vidal Sassoon.

ARRIVALS

Mr. Walter Haas, president of Haas Machinery, Montreal, to promote Canada-Israel machinery trade.

SHARON-BEGIN

(Continued from Page One)
criticism that has been voiced of late, that Sharon misleads the cabinet, a cabinet source observed last night: "You can't fool all the people all the time. The cabinet ministers are grown men. Perhaps they would allow themselves to be duped once, twice, three times. But surely not day after day, systematically, as the critics allege."

A cabinet minister noted that the ministers were receiving much fuller and more regular briefings on the war situation than the first Begin cabinet did from then-defence minister Ezer Weizman at the time of "Operation Litani" in 1978.
This minister, and one of his colleagues, said that one source of the rumours surrounding the cabinet during the war might be a small number of disgruntled ministers within the cabinet.
Specifically on the vexed issue of how the war, with its originally limited objectives, came to be expanded, the two ministers interviewed yesterday both insisted that the prospect or likelihood of expansion was taken into account right from the start. The cabinet, they said, had always been aware that the 45-kilometre arc could not be drawn with geometrical precision and that military and tactical moves in the field might well take the IDF far beyond it. The cabinet was also aware from the outset that there were PLO positions sheltering within the Syrian area of control inside the 45-km. arc and that if the Syrians refused to remove them there might well be fighting with Syria.

HOME NEWS

Opposition blasts 'rolling war aims'

Sharon: first aim of war achieved; two to go

By ASHER WALLFISH
Post Knesset Reporter

Defence Minister Ariel Sharon said yesterday that Operation Peace for Galilee had already achieved its minimum objective — securing a 40-45 kilometre security zone in southern Lebanon.
But the minister added that the operation had a secondary and a tertiary aim. The secondary aim was to get all foreign forces out of Lebanon. The tertiary aim was to help bring about the formation of a new government in Beirut which would sign the necessary political agreements and perhaps even a peace treaty.

The minister was briefing the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee amid sharp criticism from Alignment members and one NRP man.

The Defence Ministry announced last night that in view of the fact that committee members had leaked the proceedings of yesterday's session, Sharon would not appear today for the continuation of the session.

Sharon said that the shooting exchanges in Lebanon were caused by violations of the cease-fire on the part of the Syrian troops and the PLO. These shooting exchanges had

occurred only at points where Syrian troops and PLO men were side by side, he said.

At yesterday's meeting the defence minister told the committee the IDF commanded a 20 km. stretch of land along the main Beirut-Damascus highway. He said that around southern and western Beirut, the IDF was in exactly the same positions today as it had been when the cease-fire started. It had not edged forward, he said.

Mapam leader Victor Shemtov said that the IDF would have had only 25 dead had the operation ended after 72 hours, when the prime objective was attained.

He called on Sharon to resign because he had got Israel involved in its longest war since 1948, whose end was not yet in sight. Shemtov accused Sharon of "rolling the war aims further and further along as the troops advanced." He recalled that on June 6, the day the fighting began, Sharon said the fighting would be over within 12-24 hours and the troops would advance only 40-45 km.

When Sharon called out that he wouldn't resign, Shemtov replied that he "wasn't surprised in the least."

Yosef Sarid (Alignment-Labour)

accused Sharon of misleading the Knesset. He said that right from the outset, Sharon had his full-scale operation completely planned, and intended to carry it out in all its phases.

Sarid said the fact that the IDF was now around Beirut proved that Sharon's original plan was to capture the city. He said some ministers were reluctant to observe the cease-fire because they wanted to achieve the outstanding military aims. These ministers were making use of a variety of pretexts in order to achieve those objectives, he charged.

Mordechai Gur (Alignment-Labour) a former chief of staff said that the cabinet had not attached due weight to the extent of Israeli casualties.

This angered Sharon, who replied that casualties were a major consideration in any IDF operation. "I don't need to take any lessons on that from Mordechai Gur," he sneered. "You Alignment representatives are Yom Kippur War heroes and I suggest you keep quiet about casualties," he said.

Abba Eban (Alignment-Labour) said that Sharon was waging a war, different from the one for which he got Knesset backing. As the objec-

tives shifted further and further away from Galilee, Eban said, so was peace becoming more remote. "It will be a bloody war with no purpose at all," he said. Never before had Israel set out on a military campaign with such a narrow consensus supporting it, he said.

Danny Rosolio (Alignment-Labour) said that he supported the operation from the outset but he opposed the IDF storming Western Beirut. If the IDF took the city, he warned, Israel would have to assume responsibility for everything the Lebanese government does in the future.
Benny Shalita (Likud-Liberal) said the opposition was harming the nation at this crucial stage of the operation because the terrorists bottled up inside the city interpreted domestic dissent in Israel as a sign of weakness. He said the PLO was being encouraged to dig in its heels and refuse to negotiate.

Shalita was the only Likud man to speak yesterday, but his colleagues' turn will come when the committee meets this morning.

Avraham Melamed (NRP) said it was clear that the operation was now without a clear political or military purpose. It was doing Israel's international image excessive harm, he said.



Sgt. Michel Bochnik, 26, recovering in the Afeka Hospital after losing a leg in the fighting in Lebanon, was married yesterday to his sweetheart Nurit, 25, in a hospital ceremony attended by family, friends, and his fellow soldiers. Members of the hospital staff, Dr. Yosef Factor (right) and Beni Ambar, present Bochnik with a bouquet. (IPPA)

Argov suspects remanded for 4th time

By HYAM CORNEY
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. — The three Arabs accused of the attempted murder of Ambassador Shlomo Argov three weeks ago were remanded in custody for the fourth time by the Lambeth Magistrates Court yesterday. Bail was again refused.

Opposing bail, Commander William Huckleby, head of Scotland Yard's anti-terrorist squad, said he feared that if granted bail, the three would fail to appear in court next time. He also drew attention to the

seriousness of the offences with which they were charged and the possibility that they would commit similar crimes if granted bail.

The commander referred to the association of the defendants with extremist terrorist groups who planned to attack political and other Israeli targets "and moderate Arab targets." Documents allegedly found in the possession of the three showed they were part of a larger terrorist organization which was planning further attacks. The three will appear again at Lambeth next Thursday.

4,000 tons of ammunition captured

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The IDF spokesman revealed yesterday that so far the army has captured from the PLO in Lebanon 4,000 tons of ammunition, 144 military vehicles, 12,506 light weapons, 516 heavy weapons (including cannons), 359 items of communication equipment and 795

items of optical equipment.
About 70 additional arms caches are now being sorted. But it is believed that some caches have not been uncovered yet, the spokesman added.

Army sources estimate that it will take 80 lorries a month to carry the captured equipment to Israel.

Yugoslavs edge out Honduras in cup match

ZARAGOZA (AP). — Yugoslavia scored a controversial late penalty last night to defeat Honduras 1-0 in a World Cup Group Five match here.

Yugoslavia now will advance to the second round if Spain defeats Northern Ireland today, or possibly on goal difference in the event of any other result in that game. (Earlier reports — page 11)

Na'amat offers legal aid to families of war dead

TEL AVIV (Times). — The Histadrut women's organization Na'amat has bolstered its legal aid programme for the families of soldiers killed in action, which began after the 1967 Six Day War.

Speaking to reporters, Na'amat secretary Masha Lubelski explained that the sudden loss leaves many widows, parents and children of soldiers in a difficult position.

MASSIVE BATTLE

(Continued from Page One)
until dusk, flying many sorties.

Syrian SAM-6 missiles which attempted to interfere with the Israeli air attack were destroyed by artillery, according to the army spokesman, while infantry units were sent in on foot against the Syrian commandos. Two Syrian MIGs were shot down during a quick interception attempt by the Syrian Air Force of an Israeli bombing mission.

For some 16 hours, Syrian and Israeli tanks conducted a duel, while artillery units from both sides pounded each other. Towards evening, the area was reported quiet, apart from sporadic exchanges of fire, with Israeli forces firmly entrenched north of the Beirut-Damascus highway at Bhamdoun.

Later in the afternoon, several Katyusha rockets were fired at Israeli forces southeast of Beirut. In response, artillery and the air force were called in against "the sources of fire" in West Beirut, according to the spokesman.

There was still a great deal of tension in the Beirut area, with observers convinced the IDF is poised to attack the last PLO strongholds in the city.

An army source denied any such attack was in motion. Despite the denials and the apparent political dynamic in progress, observers in the Beirut area remained convinced that a last Israeli thrust against the PLO is inevitable, and that yesterday's clashes in both Beirut and on the Beirut-Damascus highway were in preparation for the attack.

To our colleagues
Moshe Ron and Shulamit Ron
and the family
We offer condolences on the death of your wife, mother
RUTH ז"ל
National Federation of Israel
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Association of Tel Aviv Journalists
Israel Press Council

In deep sorrow, we announce the death of
YOSEF REISBERG ז"ל
the eminent educator
His Wife, Daughter, Sons, Sisters,
and all the family
The funeral will take place today, Friday, June 25, 1982 leaving at 10.30 a.m. from the Municipal Funeral Parlour, Rehov Dafna, Tel Aviv, for the Ramat Hasharon cemetery.
A bus will be available for those attending.

On the first anniversary of the death of our dear
Rav-Seren
AMIRAM KALECHMAN
there will be a memorial service on Tuesday, June 29, 1982 (Tammuz 8, 5742) at 4 p.m. in the section of Mount Herzl Military Cemetery, Jerusalem, dedicated to the memory of those whose last resting place is unknown.
The Family

Funerals held for six soldiers

Jerusalem Post Staff

Six more Israeli soldiers killed in Operation Peace for Galilee were buried yesterday at six different locations in the country.

Samal Rishon Yehuda Malul, 30, was buried in the military portion of the cemetery in Dimona, his home town. A paratrooper, he recently completed his studies in production engineering at Ben-Gurion University. He leaves his parents and eight brothers and sisters.

Samal Zvi Gafni, 34, was buried at Kibbutz Sa'ar in western Galilee. Originally from Nesher, he lived on the kibbutz since 1957, where he managed the farm's field crops. A veteran of the 1967 and 1973 wars, he leaves his wife Ada and four children.

Samal Rishon Elon Anavim, 28, was buried at Moshav Arbel in eastern Galilee. Slightly injured in the 1973 war, he was killed in Lebanon when the vehicle in which

he was travelling hit a mine. He leaves his wife Nehama, two children and his parents.

Tural Shlomo Avraham, 20, was buried in his home town of Beit She'an, where his parents and many brothers and sisters live. He had also lived at Kibbutz Sa'ar as part of army service in Nahal.

Tural Ram Mizrahi, 20, was buried at the Mt. Herzl military cemetery in Jerusalem. Stationed at a *hesder yeshiva*, he was killed in battle with the Syrians in the eastern sector. He had planned to continue as an officer in the army. He leaves his parents and a sister.

Samal Rishon Shirley Azulai, 28, was buried in the military section of the Holon cemetery, near his home town of Bat Yam. Stationed in the eastern sector near Beirut, the vehicle in which he was riding hit a mine on Wednesday morning. He leaves his wife and a daughter, his parents, and brothers and sisters.

Netanyahu nominated to Supreme Court

Judge Shoshitza Netanyahu has been nominated to the Supreme Court by the Judges Appointments Committee headed by Justice Minister Moshe Nisim. If the appointment is confirmed, Netanyahu will become the second woman on the Supreme Court.

Judge Netanyahu was born in Danzig, and immigrated to this country in 1924. In 1969, she was appointed to the Haifa Magistrates Court and in 1974, to the District Court in that city. Last year she was appointed acting Supreme Court judge.

She is the aunt of Yonatan Netanyahu, the IDF officer who lost his life in the Entebbe rescue effort in 1976. (Him)

TROOPS ADVANCE

(Continued from Page One)
fants, while others dragged older children by the hand to seek refuge elsewhere.

Police are reported as saying that at least 17 persons were killed and 39 wounded, just in the naval shelling of the sea-front.

Leftist leader Jumblatt, long a staunch ally of the PLO, charged Israel planned "to destroy West Beirut piece by piece" in a drive to create the psychological atmosphere for the PLO's capitulation.

Police sources also said some 50 people are now known to have died in Wednesday night's massive explosion in Beirut.

The blast was apparently set off by a car bomb which detonated a massive PLO munitions dump in the basement of a six-storey apartment building on the sea-front. It totally demolished the building, said to have housed several refugee families. Police said the death toll could rise as more bodies were discovered under the rubble.

On the sixth anniversary of the fall of
Sgan-Aluf
YONATAN NETANYAHU
In Operation Jonathan
A memorial service will be held at Mt. Herzl Military Cemetery, Jerusalem, on Sunday, June 27, at 5:00 p.m.
Speaker:
Ariel Sharon
Minister of Defence
Buses will leave from the Mann Auditorium, Tel Aviv, for Mt. Herzl at 3:30 p.m.
Yoni's Friends and Family

On the thirtieth day after the passing of our dear
MARTHA KOCH
nee Michaels
there will be a memorial meeting and unveiling of the tombstone on Wednesday, June 30, 1982 at the Hof Hacarmel cemetery, Haifa. We shall meet at the main entrance at 4.30 p.m.
The Bereaved Family

One year after the death of our dear
ELLA FINK
a memorial service will be held on Monday afternoon, June 28, 1982 at 4.30 p.m. at the cemetery, Netanya.
The Family

Protests, cables to Begin urge end to war

Jerusalem Post Staff
Urgent cables cautioning against an IDF attempt to enter West Beirut were sent to Prime Minister Menachem Begin yesterday by the Peace Now movement and by Mapam's two elder statesmen, while Sheli member Aluf (res.) Matityahu Peled said opposition to conquering West Beirut is almost nationwide.

Shinui MKs Amnon Rubinstein and Mordechai Virshupski yesterday called on Begin to order an immediate cease-fire. They said the extension of the war beyond its original aims is undermining the national consensus and causing grave, widespread concern in the country.

Peace Now called for an immediate cease-fire, negotiations on withdrawal and talks with the

Palestinians. It warned that a decision to enter West Beirut would have a severe effect on the morale of the soldiers and raise doubts about their willingness to identify with the operation.

The movement announced that it will begin a series of activities to protest against the war. On Sunday it is holding a mass protest in the Mitchell Auditorium in Jerusalem.

Mapam's Ya'acov Hazan and Meir Yaari said in their cable that an attempt to penetrate West Beirut "would extract an exorbitant price in human life and would make Israel's international standing even more untenable than it now already is."

Peled said yesterday that a decision to enter West Beirut would be a government decision, not the decision of the nation which op-

poses it strongly. The war he said, will soon be the longest of Israel's wars since the War of Independence. "Nobody knows what its results will be, just as nobody knows why it began," he said.

Another cable to Begin was sent yesterday by 20 professors and lecturers and 40 students at Bar-Ilan University. Their message was twofold: stop the hostilities in Lebanon forthwith and observe the cease-fire scrupulously. The group, which included Prof. Uriel Simon, added a rider in their cable, adapted from the Book of Ecclesiastes, saying: "Force will not solve everything."

A group of Ometz students who set up a counter in the centre of Jerusalem against the war were attacked by onlookers who tore up their pamphlets and overturned

their table. A sole policewoman called in extra forces who restored order and the demonstration, which was held with a permit, continued without disturbance.

A group of kibbutz members demonstrated yesterday outside the Prime Minister's Office during the cabinet meeting, with demonstrators shouting that the war would be "the end of Israel." The demonstration was held without a permit, and dispersed just before police moved to break it up.

A Los Angeles-based Jewish group, Los Angeles New Jewish Agenda, has sent cables to Begin, U.S. President Ronald Reagan and the PLO urging an immediate cease-fire, withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon and negotiations with the Palestinians based on mutual recognition, self-determination and coexistence.

Jewish Agency controller blasts funds supervision

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Inadequate co-ordination among Jewish Agency departments resulted in double payments of "considerable amounts" to outside contractors, "needy" Jewish Agency employees were given loans without reasons given in writing, and Galilee lookout points were poorly constructed by firms that had no experience in residential building.

These are some of the disclosures in the Jewish Agency controller's 1980/81 report, which was tabled before the board of governors yesterday.

It was the second annual controller's report to be made public since the Jewish Agency was reconstituted a dozen years ago. The board decided to publish the reports

following pressure from the press. But the World Zionist Organization's annual controller's report, also the responsibility of controller Meir Ben-Zion Meiri, has not been published, even though it is a year late.

The current Jewish Agency report is not a comprehensive overview of all the departments but an examination of a few operations in a number of departments.

The agency's treasury department was given bad marks for its allocations system, which distributes funds among "deserving" individuals and institutions. The treasury did not adequately establish rules for following up and supervising funds allocated, said the controller. "There was a suspicion that in a certain immigrants' association and a certain religious

charitable body "the funds received had been used improperly," the controller wrote.

The controller notes that in earlier reports he offered recommendations to the treasury on how to improve its supervision, but "no real steps were taken" to implement them. "There was actually no follow-up and control over the use of the monies allocated, even in cases where hundreds of thousands of shekels were involved. The bodies did not produce financial reports or reports on the use of the monies allocated."

In response, the treasurer said that guide-lines were being written along the lines of the controller's suggestions.

The agency's settlement department was taken to task for its poor

supervision of the building of lookout points in the Galilee. Construction times were exceeded by three companies by several months; porches were built without a place for a door. In general, there was a "failure to observe existing procedures and a lack of concern for proper administrative practice."

The controller had received "many complaints" about the quality of service of Idud — the Jewish Agency company established in 1944 to grant cheap credit to industry and small businesses — which now concentrates on granting low-interest housing loans to olim. The company was criticized by the controller for delaying the changeover to computerization and doing so eventually "neither efficiently nor according to the rules of proper administration."

New effort to repopulate Kiryat Shmona under way

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter

KIRYAT SHMONA. — A new effort will be made to repopulate this northern development town, now that the border is quiet again. New residents are being sought by the Development Town Guidance Centre, and those who fled the bombardment earlier this month are being encouraged to return.

Ben-Zion Rubin, deputy minister of the Labour and Social Affairs Ministry, which runs the centre, said on Wednesday that, with quiet having returned to the northern border, "it was time to increase the region's population. A total of 800 apartments are empty in Kiryat

Shmona, which will be sold at reduced prices to those interested, he said.

Kiryat Shmona Mayor Robert Reuven said dozens of families have declared their intention to remain in the town. Dozens more who left Upper Galilee in recent years because of the security situation have also announced plans to return.

Zohar Gindler, director of the guidance centre, said the office will make an employment survey of job possibilities in industry and services in Kiryat Shmona. Together with the Industry and Trade Ministry, it will accelerate the establishment of new industry in the town, he said.

Lebanese merchants want Israeli goods

HANITA (Itim). — A group of merchants from Tyre and Sidon yesterday approached the new customs station at the border with Lebanon here to inquire about purchasing various commodities in Israel. They discussed the subject with representatives of the Industry and Trade Ministry.

The merchants told of shortages in flour, rice, sugar and fuel, the items they were primarily interested

in buying. Most of the shops destroyed in shelling of the two cities were not insured, they added, and the owners do not know how to rehabilitate them. In addition, contact with suppliers in Beirut and abroad was cut off.

The visitors asked that they be allowed to enter Israel and arrange their own terms of purchase, rather than to buy only at the border post.

Haddad reportedly denied U.S. visa

TEL AVIV (AP). — Maj. Sa'ad Haddad, militia leader in southern Lebanon, has been refused a visa for a visit to the U.S. This was reported yesterday by a senior Israeli military official, who explained that the U.S. State Department had rejected Haddad's visa request on the grounds that he did not represent any recognized political authority in Lebanon.

The U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv, which had been asked to deny the report, declined to comment.

Haddad had been invited by New York City Mayor Ed Koch, the city council of Philadelphia, the Maronite Christian community of Lebanese-Americans and others to make a lecture tour of the U.S. in the fall.

Bomb attacks on pro-Israel Druse

Jerusalem Post Reporter
The struggle between supporters of Israel and Syria in Golan Heights Druse villages escalated yesterday. For the first time since the area was taken by Israel in 1967, bombs were set off at the homes of pro-Israel elements.

Early yesterday morning, a bomb exploded outside a store belonging to Akub Abu Salah in Majdal Shams. No one was hurt but the building was slightly damaged. A day earlier, there was an explosion at the office of Salman Abu Salah, a

Majdal Shams insurance agent who heads the Druse Zionist Organization there.

Northern region police commander Nitzan Yitzhak Eran has appointed a special team to investigate the explosions.

Responding to the incidents, Salman Abu Salah asked police to allow pro-Israel Druse to set up a Civil Guard branch to defend themselves. A previous request for permission to carry arms is still under consideration by the police.

Driver shot dead after police chase

NETANYA (Itim). — A 17-year-old driver who reportedly drove through a red light was shot dead on Wednesday night after being chased by the police through the streets of Netanya.

A spokesman for the Netanya police said yesterday that a patrol vehicle had followed the car, which was suspected of having ignored the lights at the Razieli junction.

A roadblock was set up at the Beit Dror junction, and a policeman and a member of Hagan (Civil

Defence) alighted to arrest the two occupants of the car. The car failed to stop and the police set off in pursuit.

During the chase, the policeman fired his gun and the driver of the vehicle was hit. He was taken to the Laniado Hospital where he died.

A police spokesman said the second suspect, an 18-year-old soldier from Tel Mond, had been apprehended. The dead youth was not identified. The investigation is continuing.

Court orders secret Aharoni transcripts

TEL AVIV (Itim). — A senior police officer yesterday was ordered by the Tel Aviv District Court to submit all transcripts of secretly taped conversations among defendants in the Bar Bakur double murder case. The court is hearing the trial of Rahamim Aharoni who is accused of being an accomplice in the slaying of Amos Orion and Azar Cohen on July 23, 1980.

The court's order to Pakad Shlomi Combor, of national police headquarters, followed insistent pressing by Aharoni's attorney, Edna Kaplan, to be allowed to see the transcripts.

Combor maintained yesterday that some of the transcripts are classified. The court will decide which of the transcripts may be made available to Aharoni's lawyer.

Mother of three drives soldiers to war

KIRYAT MOTZKIN (Itim). — The redhead who drove an Egged bus taking soldiers as far as Beirut was a woman, the mother of three children, from this Haifa Bay suburb. Haya Levy has been one of Egged's emergency drivers for many years.

During the week she was on duty, the bus was attacked several times by terrorists, but neither she nor her passengers were harmed. As a sign of their affection, the soldiers attached a Lebanese flag to her bus and asked that she be the one to drive them home.



Kibbutz members demonstrate outside the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem yesterday during the cabinet meeting, bearing placards that read: "Another victory like this and we are lost!" and "Stop the madness in Lebanon." (Rahamim Israeli)

Patt promises quick end to Syrian clashes

By YITZHAK OKED
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Minister of Industry and Trade Gideon Patt promised yesterday that the battles between the IDF and Syrian forces in Lebanon would be over by last night. Patt said the reason was that "the IDF is 41 kilometres south and 27 kilometres northwest of Damascus and the Syrians know this."

Speaking to the insurance forum of the Association of Insurance Companies, Patt added that the government had four goals to the present conflict, "and not one, as many tend to think."

In addition to the 40-45 kilometre security zone north of Israel, Patt said the other goals were: The total destruction of the war structure of

the terrorists ("The majority of the huge and fantastic arm caches and depots of the terrorists were found north of the 40-45 kilometre area"); assurance that the situation in the field will not be such that the Syrians will not be able to supply the terrorists with a protective "umbrella"; and locating the IDF at strategic positions to help in the political negotiations.

Patt also explained that the recent battles with the Syrians were for control of the Beirut-Damascus road. "If we control this road, we will be able to be flexible about Beirut," he said. The battles were fought in an area where the Syrians are reinforcing and arming terrorists coming from Syria, who are trying to reach their encircled comrades in Beirut.

"We are not planning to allow them to do this," Patt promised. "Also, we are finished with wars of attrition. No more!"

Patt added that "what is sure is that the IDF will not give back one square kilometre until all the other forces, terrorists and Syrians, leave Lebanese soil. This is also acceptable by the Americans and even several European countries. Of course, the IDF will then also leave Lebanese soil."

"We want to see a government in Lebanon that will include the spectrum of all Lebanese, according to the Lebanese law, with a Christian president and a Moslem premier," Patt continued. "This will be very good. We will have to help them not only in civilian fields but to train and strengthen their army."

Baptists, Jewish-Arab group aid Lebanese

HAIFA (Itim). — The Baptist community in Israel, together with Geshar, a movement of Jewish and Arab women, has begun caring for Lebanese citizens hospitalized in Israel, Ibrahim Sam'an, a Baptist minister in charge of social affairs, announced yesterday.

About 100 Lebanese citizens are in hospitals in Israel, and scores have been released after treatment. Sam'an visited hospitals in Nahariya, Safed and Haifa, together with representatives of Geshar on

Thursday in order to determine the aid needed.

The Baptists have opened a house in Haifa in which visiting relatives from Lebanon can stay, and are running a minibus for transporting them to and from Lebanon. Geshar, which was established by Ruth Liss, the first Israeli woman to write to Jehan Sadat in Egypt, is providing aid to the wounded in hospitals.

Scores of families Jewish and Arab have applied to this Rahamim Hospital in Haifa with requests to

adopt two infant girls from Sidon whose parents have not been found.

The infants, seven-month-old Zian Adal Himri and five-month-old Rania Amar Mustafa, are being treated in the surgery department. Their doctor has suggested appealing to the International Red Cross to help find their parents.

The Maxima plant in Mitzpe Ramon, a producer of oxygen, has written to Ya'acov Meridor, the government's co-ordinator of aid to Lebanon, offering to donate oxygen to hospitals and clinics in Lebanon.

U.S. House votes \$50m. for Lebanese relief work

WASHINGTON (AP). — The House of Representatives by 334-70 approved legislation on Wednesday authorizing \$50 million to help the people of Lebanon who have lost their homes in the war. The U.S. administration had requested \$20m.

Several House members were critical of the Israeli invasion during debate on the bill, but others, while voicing their approval of the humanitarian aid request, took pains not to directly criticize the government.

Yesterday, the American Red Cross announced that the International Committee of the Red Cross believes that medical

problems in Lebanon are under control and that displaced persons are returning to their homes.

The Geneva-based organization reported that needs for medical personnel "are covered" unless the situation worsens, and there is "no need" at this time to deploy standby medical teams, its U.S. affiliate said.

The report from the ICRC also indicates but does not specifically state that the number of casualties and displaced civilians is significantly lower than some reports estimated.

Red Cross delegates have visited about 8,000 displaced persons in Ba'albek in northern Lebanon, and

relief teams are providing aid. The report said Israel has affirmed its willingness to adhere to all four Geneva conventions on the conduct of war and the treatment of prisoners, and declared that all Lebanese and Palestinian combatants captured by Israeli forces are protected by the Third Geneva Convention.

RAMADAN. — After consultations with Lebanese Moslem leaders, IDF officers have agreed that single blank shells may be fired every night at various locations to mark the end of the daily Ramadan fast.

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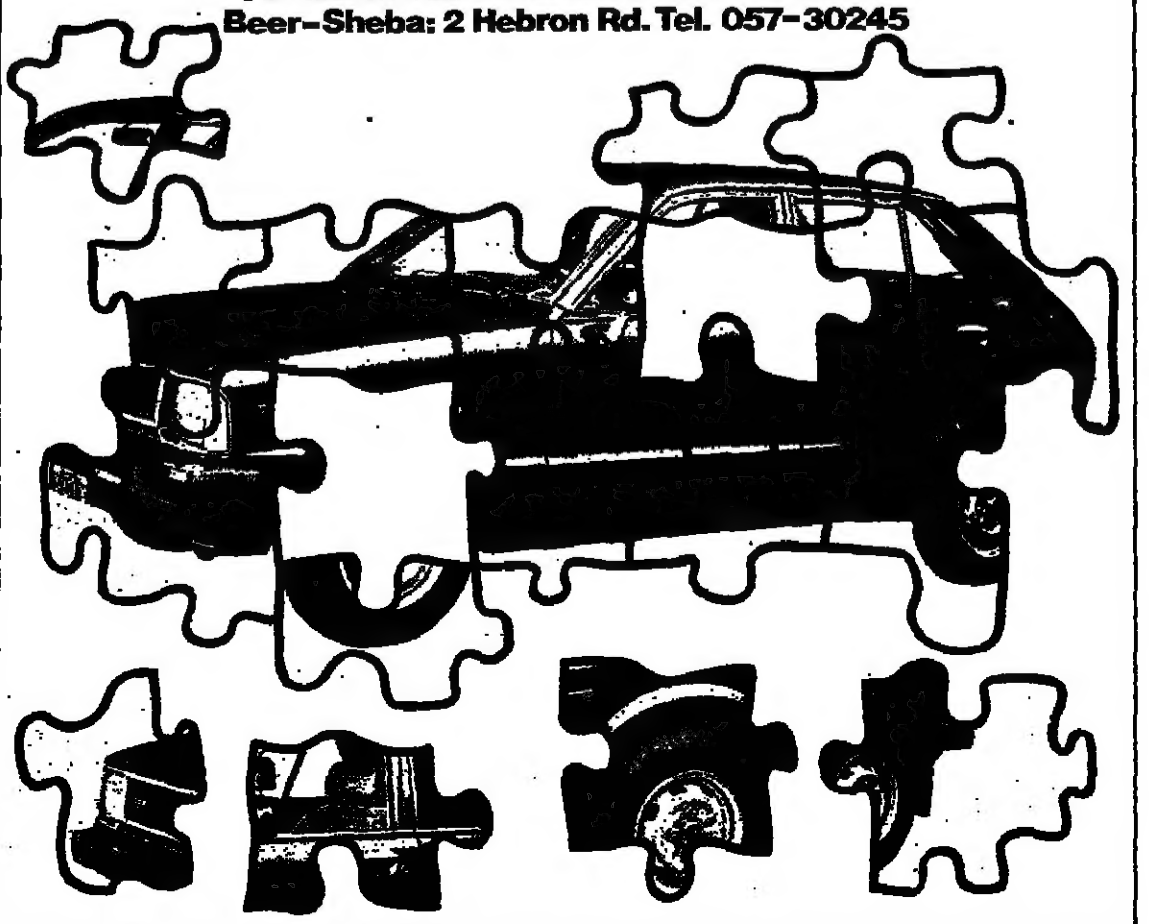
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Junieh 'ferry': streaming out, trickling in

By ALY MAHMOUD

JUNIEH (AP). — Hundreds of foreigners and wealthy Lebanese streamed out of beleaguered Beirut yesterday to this Christian-held port and its unscheduled ferry service to and from Cyprus, Lebanon's last remaining transport link with the West. Only a trickle of Lebanese businessmen and foreign diplomats were arriving from Cyprus.

Israeli gunboats were watching the Lebanese coast, intercepting all cruise ships, yachts and freighters approaching Junieh.

Money-minded Lebanese travel agents have taken to the Cypriot ports of Larnaca and Limassol, arranging on-deck travel for Beirut-bound passengers at \$170 per passenger.

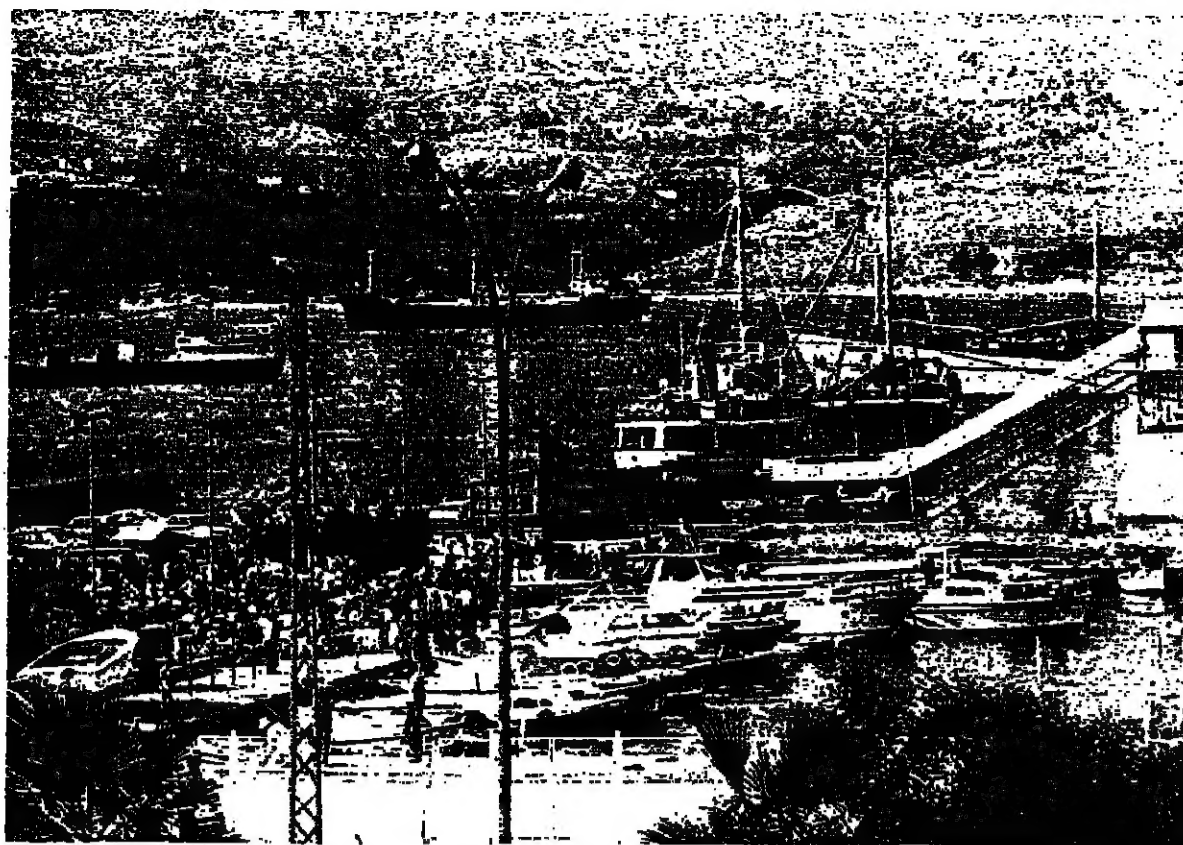
There is normally no passenger service by sea between Cyprus and Lebanon.

Martha-I carried a 750-ton load of American cigarettes and Taiwanese-made prefabricated house wood planks. About 32 passengers made the 19-hour trip from Limassol on Wednesday.

Outwardly jovial Lebanese passengers were chanting patriotic songs, often kicking the deck as they danced the traditional dabka.

Munching an apple, U.S. diplomat Joseph Jacobs squatted as he listened to young Lebanese men recount anecdotes about the "good old days," when Lebanon was "a haven for businessmen and fun-lovers."

Jacobs told them the State Department has asked him to visit Lebanon and figure out ways of



Passengers crowd the wharf at Junieh yesterday, waiting to board the cargo ship-cum-ferry to Cyprus.

spending a \$26 million aid approved by Congress for victims of the Israeli invasion.

In the dead of night, the Panamanian-flag freighter steamed in a southeasterly direction, with the Greek captain often cautioning passengers against using binoculars or flash lights.

"We are a few miles from the Lebanese coast, where we will be intercepted by Israeli boats," said the captain toward the end of the trip. "If we behave ourselves and answer some questions, the Israelis will leave us in peace."

At daybreak, a grey Israeli gunboat ploughed through the

Mediterranean, signalling the Martha-I to stop its engines. About a mile away, a Lebanese-flag ship had been ordered to stop by the Israelis, and Martha's captain said they were about to board that ship and check the identity of its passengers.

Martha-I was allowed to proceed after a two-hour delay, but the Lebanese ship stayed on with the Israeli gunboat patrolling around it.

At Junieh, Lebanese militiamen boarded the freighter and confiscated a tape recorder from a Lebanese Christian woman who, according to the captain, was jokingly pretending to be in radio com-

munication with the Israelis.

The woman told the militiamen she was really only listening to the voices of her husband and children on a tape cassette. But the militiamen insisted on taking the cassette.

The woman reacted with a tirade of curses against Lebanese pan-Arabism while praising Israel. The militiamen ignored her.

A motor boat took the passengers ashore, where a long line of Egyptian workers waited to board a freighter bound for Alexandria.

Taxi drivers charged \$60 per person for a drive into town that in normal times costs less than \$3.

Lebanese war embarrasses Egypt but U.S. links hold

By ROBERT REID

CAIRO (AP). — Israel's incursion into Lebanon has deeply embarrassed the Egyptian government, delayed its reconciliation with the Arab world and forced it into agonizing choices between old and new friends.

But despite widespread public dismay at the fighting and U.S. inability to curb the Israelis, the government of President Hosni Mubarak has been holding steady on the course of peace with Israel and close ties with the U.S.

Outrage over Lebanon did not prevent Egypt and the U.S. from signing a major trade agreement this week nor keep Mubarak from a publicized meeting with U.S. trade representative William Brock and Ambassador Alfred A. Thornton.

While Egypt's foreign policy has called its ambassador home for consultations, and tourists can still cross the frontier between the two countries.

Cairo's luxury hotels are packed with American tourists and businessmen seeking to cash in on the expanding trade between the two countries.

But Mubarak himself sent a clear warning this week to the U.S. that continued Israeli occupation of

Lebanon or a fierce bloodletting in the streets of West Beirut might change all that.

In a U.S. television interview — the text of which was published by major Egyptian dailies — Mubarak said the Lebanese crisis would affect "not only Egyptian-American relations" but also Washington's ties to the whole Arab world.

"And that is because the image of the U.S. has been badly shaken," he said.

In order to underscore Egypt's opposition to the Israeli move, the local press is filled with reports of Egyptian diplomatic efforts to end the fighting.

Mubarak's widely publicized offer of asylum for Palestine Liberation Organization chief Yasser Arafat was seen in part as a move to affirm Egyptian support of the ideals of Palestinian self-determination. It would be an odd-homecoming for the PLO, which was founded here at an Arab summit in 1964.

But support for the Palestinians has its limits.

Prime Minister Fuad Mohieddin told members of his National Democratic Party that Egypt would not permit volunteers to go to Lebanon to fight alongside the

PLO, as demanded by opposition parties.

Nor would the government, Mohieddin said, bow to other opposition demands and suspend relations with Israel and abandon Camp David.

Ibrahim Nafeh, editor of *Al-Ahram*, wrote that the war in Lebanon had actually vindicated Egypt's peace policy.

Mustafa Amin, a former newspaper editor, wrote in another Cairo daily that the Arabs had no one to blame but themselves for events in Lebanon.

"We defeated ourselves when we trained our tanks to defend Arab regimes and not Arab homes, when we turned Lebanon into our battleground, when we divided Palestinians into factions and sent commands to assassinate those who differed from us in opinion," he wrote.

As if to underscore Arab disunity and its impact on Egypt, the war has shifted the spotlight away from the anticipated reconciliation between Egypt and the rest of the Arab world.

Morocco and Jordan, who had been expected to lead a rapprochement with Egypt, have so far put reconciliation moves in abeyance.

LEBANESE NATIONALISM

(Continued from Page One)

as Lebanese and not as members of different communities.

During the terrorist occupation of the area, the Lebanese government existed largely on paper and could not impose its will on the terrorists. Ibrahim, who was governor during this period, fled when the IDF invaded the area, but recently returned with the blessing of the central government to rebuild the civilian authority.

Elpeleg told reporters after the meeting that Haddad's ultimate status in the area would have to be determined in a general settlement. "Meanwhile, he is trying to make friends here," Elpeleg said. Last week, Haddad was welcomed and praised by a group of 100 local notables convened in a nearby village by IDF invitation.

The last to speak at the assembly was Sheikh Mohammed An-Nasr, a local Shiite imam whose daughter was raped and murdered by the terrorists. Mesmerizing the audience with an exhortation delivered in sharp rising and falling tones, he told them that the people

of Lebanon had been punished under the terrorist regime because they didn't love their land enough.

Before the civil war of 1975-76, the Nabatieh area had a population of 80,000-100,000, but many thousands fled under the terrorist regime, according to the officer in charge of civil administration, Sgan-Aluf Na'aman Livnat. When the IDF arrived in the area two weeks ago, only about 10,000 residents remained. Livnat said that thousands of people are returning now that normal life is being restored.

None of the public buildings except the post office was damaged in the fighting, Livnat said. Damage to homes also appeared to be minimal. Officers of the aid unit said the water and electrical systems would be working soon.

A brief tour of the city centre revealed that stores were reasonably well-stocked with goods from outside the area, and that food was in plentiful supply. One indication of "normal" life were the traffic jams in the dusty, narrow city streets that the local gendarmerie tried valiantly to unsmear.

Army rule splits Argentine milit

BUENOS AIRES. — As air force and navy officers resigned in droves from government positions over the army's decision to run the country alone, Argentina's political leaders agreed to sit down yesterday with president-designate Reynaldo Bignone.

Announcement of the meeting came as the politicians warned that the country is fed up with military governments — this amid a deepening split among military leaders left out of the army takeover.

Civilian political leaders, meeting in a coalition of the nation's five largest parties, issued a document calling for the military government to set a date for a return to civilian rule and appealed for a lifting of the state of siege.

"The people have reached the limit of their tolerance," the document said, warning of possible street violence if constitutional rule is not

restored. "The people have again been mere spectators at the designation of the president of the nation...The promises of future consultations with the political forces can't hide these frustrating and recurring developments."

The civilian coalition, known as the *multipartidaria*, includes leaders from the Peronists, the Civic Radical Union, the Integration and Development Movement, the Intransigents and the Christian Democrats. Together, they are believed to represent about 80 per cent of the electorate.

They also called for a return to an economy where local production is protected by high import tariffs.

The fact that civilian political leaders agreed to a meeting at all appeared to augur well for Bignone, a retired, 54-year-old major-general, designated on Tuesday to become the country's seventh

military president since coup that toppled Mr. Martinez de Peron.

Bignone's replacee Leopoldo Galtieri, who resigned after the defeat by British forces on April 2.

Many felt that their decision had been consulted, the decision was taken, the

He added that many made in going ahead seizure, among them a p. ment of Washington's at Britain's potential for str at Argentina's forces. (A)

Zimbabwe premier's home attacked

HARARE (Reuters). — Gunmen attacked the homes of Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and National Supplies Minister Enos Nkala early yesterday morning, official sources reported. Both men escaped unhurt.

Guards at Nkala's home returned the fire and killed one of the attackers. The assailant, a young black man, was wearing parts of a national army uniform.

Three automatic rifles and a heavy machine gun were found in a nearby garden, while two rocket-propelled grenades and launchers were later found near Mugabe's home.

A spokesman for the national news agency ZIANA said: "With the situation in the country, it is obvious the attackers were bandits." The government has blamed bandits for the deaths of 25 people in the last three months and has said they are former guerrillas loyal to opposition leader Joshua Nkomo.

In another development yesterday, former prime minister Ian Smith collapsed in parliament and was rushed to hospital where his condition was reported to be satisfactory. Shortly before he became ill, Smith had been interjecting remarks during a fiery debate between Mugabe and Nkomo supporters.

Nationwide general strike hits Italy today

ROME (AP). — Italian labour unions have called a nationwide general strike today to protest the government's austerity programme and the cancellation by private industry of wage indexation.

Union leaders predict 300,000 workers will march through Rome in the first day-long general strike in Italy since 1969. An estimated 14 million workers in industry, commerce and public services will walk off their jobs for eight hours. Public transportation, including buses and trams, will stop for two hours and most flights have been cancelled for the entire day.

Italy's association of private manufacturers, Confindustria, on June 1 unilaterally cancelled a 1975 agreement on automatic wage increases tied to inflation, called the "scala mobile" or escalator. The move triggered wildcat walkouts and spontaneous demonstrations throughout Italy and spurred labour leaders to call today's general strike.

American lashed for non-permit drinking

MANAMA, Bahrain (AP). — An American working in Abu Dhabi has been sentenced to 40 lashes for "drinking without a permit," the *Khaleej Times* reported yesterday.

The paper said the sentence was meted out by the Abu Dhabi criminal court after convicting the man of the charge and of "behaving in a disorderly manner after consuming liquor."

Other recent examples of court rulings include a 42-month prison term for a Kuwaiti youth who kissed his 15-year-old fiancée in public and a conviction of "indecent assault" against a storekeeper who "pressed intimately" a customer's hand.

FAST TALKS. — In one of the briefest sessions since negotiations began nearly seven months ago, American and Soviet representatives met for one hour and 50 minutes yesterday in talks on reducing intermediate-range nuclear forces in Europe.

The meeting was the 34th, and no substantial progress has been reported.

First Frenchman in space

MOSCOW (AP). — The first Frenchman to fly in space was launched from Central Asia in a space ship atop a Russian rocket last night together with two Soviet space veterans.

Jean-Loup Christen, the 43-year-old father of four boys, becomes the first non-American westerner to fly into space. Also aboard the Soyuz-T6 launch vehicle were Vladimir Dzhanibekov, 40, and Alexander Ivanchikov, 41, who both flew in earlier Soviet flights which carried both Russian and foreign cosmonauts.

Soviet television broadcast the launch live. It was only the second time Soviet citizens were treated to live coverage of a launch in the nearly three decades of Soviet manned space travel.

The first and last live coverage of

a mission was July 1975 launch of a Soyuz capsule later linked up with an Apollo craft.

Broadcasting from the space centre in Soviet television showed the first lifting off against a dark sky at 20:30:47 Mos (16:30:47 GMT), a minute seconds late.

Ten minutes into flight showed engineers at the control centre burst into with the announcement capsule had separated booster and was orbiting.

The Franco-Soviet flight in the Interkosmos I in which cosmonauts from bloc nations have flown on Soviet rockets.

U.S. president has 'absolute immunity'

WASHINGTON (AP). — The U.S. Supreme Court yesterday said former President Richard Nixon could not be held accountable for allegedly firing a civilian Pentagon worker, ruling for the first time that a president enjoys "absolute immunity" from lawsuits which seek monetary damages for misconduct in office.

The suit stemmed from the alleged illegal firing of Air Force worker A. Ernest Fitzgerald, who already had received \$142,000 in return for his promise not to take Nixon to trial no matter how the court ruled.

Thus, the 5-4 decision the president's absolute will affect only future law ing monetary damages fr and former presidents, several other pending cas Nixon for alleged misconduct.

Fitzgerald claimed N him fired for disclosing to in 1968 that the C-54 mil sport plane could cost over estimates. He was back pay in 1973, and only was reinstated to his origi in a settlement with the ment.

U.S. arrests crew to end month-long mutin

CAPE MAY, New Jersey (AP). — A Liberian tanker that had lain at anchor for more than a month with a mutinous crew headed for the Bahamas on Wednesday after 24 crewmen were hauled off the ship in international waters by officials.

Armed FBI agents and Coast Guards removed the crew members from the Ypantoni Tuesday evening after the Liberian government asked them to intervene in the dispute, a Liberian official said. The crewmen seized control of

the Ypantoni in Cape May over pay, but attempts at negotiations failed. Coast Guard officials said.

The 24 crew members on board the Coast Guard Alert and were to be turned U.S. Immigration and N tion Service officials. 1 members did not resist.

A Liberian official ex men to be repatriated to th countries, Pakistan or Gr

Ethiopian guerrillas claim victory in north

KHARTOUM (AP). — The Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), fighting for independence of Ethiopia's northern province, claimed to have captured a strategic garrison last week.

A communique issued day said that the TPLF that the Bizet garrison, si the main Makalee Gondar was completely destroyed and put under their contr

Iranians harass retreating Iraqis

MANAMA, Bahrain (AP). — Iranian forces continued yesterday to harass Iraqi troops with one week to go before a June 30 deadline for a complete Iraqi pullout from Iran.

An Iraqi military communique broadcast over Baghdad Radio said 12 Iranian and six Iraqi soldiers were killed in artillery exchanges initiated by the Iranians and in a number of incidents during which the Iranians tried to storm Iraqi positions.

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein set the withdrawal deadline last

Sunday and said his force continue to adhere to a 1 cease-fire proclaimed two ago in the 21-month-old 1 war.

Iranian leaders have Hussein's peace moves. I military communiques ha tioned no Iranian shella Iraqi city of Basra since 1 speech. Basra had been the daily Iranian pounding s -Iranians recaptured the Khorramshahr last month.

400 political detainees in Malaysian jails

KUALA LUMPUR (Reuters). — Nearly 400 people, most with suspected Communist links, are in detention in Malaysia because they pose a threat to the country's security, a senior minister said yesterday.

Two hundred others held under the internal security act have been freed since Prime Minister Datuk Seri Mahathir Mohammed took office last July, deputy Prime Minister Datuk Musa Hitam told a briefing for the foreign press and diplomats. He also said that the government's recent offer to critical foreign organizations and individuals to adopt detainees held

without trial and take the the country had not been t

The adoption offer response to numerous app foreign individuals and demanding the release or detainees held under the a

PAPANDREOU. — Greek Minister Andreas Papandreu for a three-day official Bulgaria yesterday, where with Bulgarian President Zhivkov are expected to 1 proposals to make the B nuclear-free zone.

Assembly — Demonstration

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From left: A view of PLO-controlled West Beirut from a gutted apartment in the Christian sector; a Christian family on the pock-marked balcony of their home in the Jayduneh quarter; an IDF patrol in Ba'abda, West Beirut in background.

ON THE BRINK IN BEIRUT

Text and Pictures/HIRSH GOODMAN

A WEEK AGO today saw one of the most intense debates of the war. On the agenda was what should be done about the 8,000 terrorists still holed up in the western sector of the city, and the last pockets of Syrian military presence along the Beirut-Damascus highway.

The cease-fire that ended the first stage of Operation Peace for Galilee was almost a week old, but a new set of circumstances had developed which made it clear that the war was still far from over. The initial military task had been completed brilliantly; now the question of what to do with both the gains and the remaining problems had to be answered.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin was en-route to the U.S., where he would try to reach agreement on several basic principles designed to ensure that never again will terrorist rockets and artillery be directed against Israel's northern settlements. While the premier was debating the political future with American and British defence officials, the army was evaluating what to do about the new military situation. The IDF had encircled what was left of the PLO in western Beirut. They were known to be well armed, adequately supplied for a long siege, and well entrenched. They were also known to be determined to fight to the death, using the quarter's 350,000 civilians as a shield.

Any military decision had to be weighed against the ramifications military action would have both internally and internationally. The national consensus which had been so evident in the opening stages of the campaign, was beginning to dissipate and politicians from both sides of the floor were saying openly that they were against a final military push in western Beirut. Internal cohesion and public identification with the operation was becoming weaker as the figures of Israeli and civilian casualties continued to come in.

The initial international — especially American — support, which had greeted the stated objectives of the operation during the first week, was slowly changing, and everyone was warning Israel not to push any further. Beirut was the capital of Lebanon and must remain inviolate, regardless of the fact that the western sector remained a huge terrorist camp. In addition, the world had become extremely sensitive to civilian casualties, and any attack on west Beirut would necessarily mean more civilians killed, no matter how "careful" the IDF would be.

Another important factor being weighed last week was the expected Israeli death toll from a final thrust on west Beirut. It had become clear that the IDF would have to carry out the attack alone and without the massive air and artillery support, essential if Israeli casualties were to be kept to a minimum.

THERE was a problem in that Operation Peace for Galilee could not be considered a complete success if the remnants of the PLO were to escape intact. The organization's command structure and leadership were alive and well, and were showing signs of recovering from the initial shock of the Israeli blitz. It was becoming clear that the PLO was recovering both militarily and politically, and remained a force to be reckoned with when it came to talking about the future of Lebanon.

The bulldozer which had so effectively ploughed the PLO under in southern Lebanon had stalled, and the question was whether Israel could afford to restart it, and at what price.

The mood was sombre as the army slowly prepared itself for whatever decision the government would make.

Nestling below was Beirut. Straight ahead and just to the left was the international airport; the southern environs were controlled by the IDF. To the right the Christian quarters,

ablaze with neon signs and moving cars. Between them west Beirut, its huge shadow disturbed only by the occasional flash of artillery. Directly behind us, on the slopes of the magnificent hills surrounding the Lebanese capital, were the wealthy Christian suburbs, their restaurants and nightclubs packed to capacity, their patrons dressed in the latest European fashions.

At night it was easier to see just how beleaguered west Beirut was. It was like a dark stain on an evening gown, and the question was how to remove it.

The IDF is a people's army, and the opinions one finds among the public at large are usually found in the army as well. It is also a democratic army, where senior officers speak their minds openly without fear of punishment. One can only guess that the point of view

and the PLO still confused and demoralized from the impact of the initial attack.

The problems were not secret, the operational plans for dealing with them were.

ONE HAD a very special feeling, sitting on the balcony, that one was living through a special moment that would not be forgotten for a long time. The intensity, seriousness and sensitivity of conversations left one feeling warm, if deeply troubled. Every military man who passed by, from officer to private, spoke his mind openly on the moral dilemma, on fears about Israeli loss of life.

By dawn armoured columns

committal, ministers interviewed after the briefing seemed to echo Sharon's view that it would be impossible to allow the PLO presence in west Beirut to remain intact. The chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, Eliahu Ben-Elissar, after a lightning visit to Beirut, came out openly in favour of action.

IT WAS Monday morning in downtown Beirut. The air was still acrid from the artillery exchanges of the night before.

The heavy morning traffic, as Lebanese rushed to open their shops and start what seemed to be an overly normal day in acutely abnormal circumstances, moved at its usual pace. Explosions continued to reverberate just a few hundred metres away.

Mid-morning found us in the company of a very impressive senior member of the Lebanese Forces, as the Phalangists call themselves. He drove us through streets where evidence of conflict was increasingly obvious.

As we neared the front-line dividing east and west Beirut, there was not a home that was not riddled with bullets and shell fragments: a very different scene from the good life we knew from the hills, and the northern, Christian-dominated towns of Junieh and Byblos. Here, along the seven-kilometre front between Christian and Palestinian Beirut, war was omnipresent.

We were greeted by the Phalange leader of the Jayduneh quarter. We were asked not to print any names because all members of the Phalange have family living in the west, and are vulnerable to PLO revenge. He led us into a dark cellar beneath a destroyed church. Youths, no older than 15, displayed their arsenal of light weapons and one heavy anti-tank weapon. He said that over 7,000 Phalangist fighters had been killed in the unceasing exchange of fire over the past eight years, and added that he prayed that he was witnessing the end of the madness that had overtaken their lives.

Most of the houses and apartment blocks in the area were empty, but here and there families waved from shattered balconies. Marijuana grew openly in untended gardens, and a small group of merchants sat in the sun near the entrance of a shop, inconspicuously open in a street devoid of any signs of life.

We climbed to the top of a five-storey building and saw a PLO flag fluttering, very close by. We only dared peek around the corner to catch a glimpse of the terrorists peeking at us from over the protective rim of sandbags, just metres away. It has become a sport to snipe at the curious, our host told us.

Standing there, looking into west Beirut, amid the ruins of downtown east Beirut, it became clear that the problems of Lebanon were far from being resolved. It was difficult to reconcile the hope expressed by the Phalangist leaders we had met and the arguments we knew prevailed against a final Israeli strike which could perhaps herald the beginning of the end of war in Lebanon.

THAT NIGHT, these mixed emotions were again felt very strongly. It had become clear to us during a day of talks with the Christian leadership that there could be no realistic hope of Phalangist involvement in cleaning up west Beirut. Any hopes we had entertained of the Phalangists taking over from where the IDF had left off were dashed, and now seemed almost naive. Their fighting force is small and their primary goal is to conserve as much of their strength as possible, and to be in a position to take over a Free Lebanon — when and if it is handed to them on a platter.

They are geared for defensive, not offensive, action, and they must

than Israel. After all, they have known nothing but civilian casualties for the past eight years. What is an almost unique problem for the IDF is all too familiar to them.

That same night, with all this in mind, we left the base for a restaurant in the Burmana quarter, up in the hills and to the east. We sat down, dusty and depressed, our weapons on the polished floor. Not an eyebrow was raised in curiosity, though it was clear that we were Israelis. Some of us were in uniform, showing insignia of our rank.

We had walked out of an atmosphere of trepidation and deep concern over what the morrow could bring, into a whirlwind of opulence: chic women, sun-tanned; well-dressed men; tables laden with

imported delicacies. We knew that thousands of lives were hanging in the balance, and we knew that a second round of fighting was about to begin — either in west Beirut itself, or in what was clearly developing into a war of attrition.

We had left base for a few hours to escape the emotional turbulence generated by the uncertain future.

We found ourselves revolted by the quiet surrounding us. We left our food untouched.

Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday were marked by more inconclusive battles and continued political debate. This Friday we seem to be as far from a solution to the problem as we were last week. What next Friday's headlines will be, is anybody's guess.



Above: A Phalange leader with a Swedish-made anti-tank weapon in downtown Beirut; below: Israeli heavy mortars move into position at the Khalde junction, near West Beirut.



presented by Defence Minister Ariel Sharon in his talks with the army was consistent with what he had been saying in public for the past few days: Israel could not come to terms with the status quo in west Beirut. But there were other opinions, too, and these were presented no less emphatically than those of the defence minister.

In Israel among the politicians the main points of debate were timing and scope. There were those who felt that military action should be suspended for as long as possible, while efforts were made to encourage as many civilians as possible to leave the area. At the same time, the strangle-hold around the PLO would be tightened and steps taken to keep the PLO on the defensive.

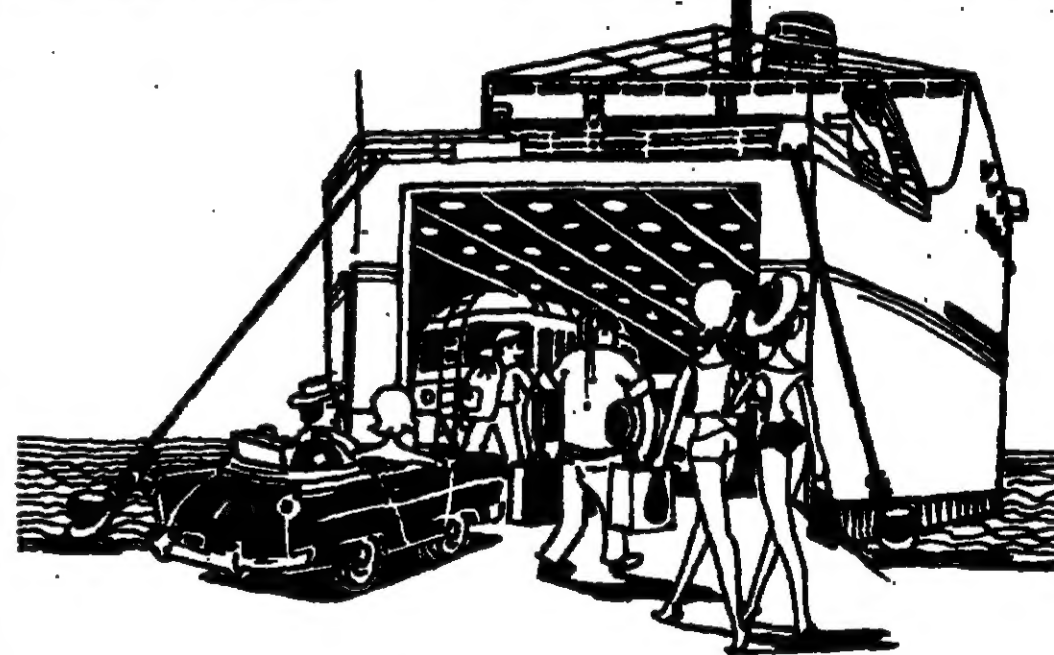
Others advocated that the strike be made while the iron was still hot,

began moving before the ever eager eyes of international television crews, and the white puffs of smoke exploding in west Beirut became more intense. Clashes with the Syrians turned into major battles, as the Syrians made a last-minute effort to improve their positions before the inevitable happened.

Four Syrian tanks could clearly be seen burning on a hill to the south, and one could hear the thunder of guns to the east, near Alep on the Beirut-Damascus highway.

As the violence escalated, the political climate heated up. Sharon brought the cabinet to the front. From a vantage point several kilometres south of Beirut, he explained the problems. With the exception of Mordechai Zipori, who came out flatly against, and Yitzhak Berman, who sounded non-

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Ending the suffering

By GIDEON RAFAEL

WARS DO NOT solve problems. In the best of cases they break stifling stalemates caused by myopic politicians and create opportunities for far-sighted statesmen.

The stivistic reflexes of man to overcome adversity by resorting to violence are still deeply ingrained in modern society. No one defined this dilemma more incisively than the former prime minister of Canada, the late Lester Pearson: "We prepare for war like precocious pygmies and for peace like retarded pygmies."

Normally, the pygmy politicians will seek to cover their low intents by invoking high ideals. And the giant generals will never fail to assert that they fight for peace. After the short-sighted and the strong-fisted have had their field-day, bloodied by untold suffering, the diplomatic rescue teams are called in to clear the rubble and put the pieces together. Measures they had recommended, but which had gone unheeded before the disaster, then become the remedies to cure its consequences.

The suggestions set out here are not offered as instant solutions for the underlying causes of the Lebanese crisis; rather, they are intended to put an end to the immediate suffering and to initiate a process leading to stability and security for Lebanon and its neighbors.

□ A COMPLETE, sincere and supervised cease-fire and standstill, observed by all forces and elements involved in the present fighting is the most urgent step to be taken without further delay.

It would require, in the first instance, the disengagement of the forces. Units of the UN force, disarmed through still on the scene, could play a useful role in the initial stage of the cease-fire supervision.

□ THE EFFORTS of the leaders of Lebanon, regardless of their political and confessional affiliations, to form a government of national unity, should be strongly supported by all who desire peace for this unhappy land. The constitutionally elected government should be restored to its full authority over all of its territory by means of a single, integrated force, composed of the Lebanese Army and Gendarmerie.

□ THE SLANTED internal equilibrium of forces should be restored by new elections leading to necessary and overdue constitutional adjustments. For the supervision and protection of such elections, the Lebanese Government should invite friendly forces from abroad.

□ SUCH A multi-national force should also be charged with the supervision of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanese territory, including the disarmed formations of the terrorist organizations. It would, likewise, have to ensure the complete demilitarization of a zone of about 40 km in Southern Lebanon to prevent the recurrence of attacks against the Israeli population in Galilee.

□ LEBANON SHOULD seek guarantees from all its neighbors that they will refrain from any intervention in its domestic affairs. It should aspire to a status of neutrality, similar to that of Austria, protected against the conflicting aspirations of its neighbors, while accommodating their mutual interests of security. Such an arrangement would, of course, require Syria to give up its ambitions to incorporate Lebanon into a Greater Syria and the two superpowers and all other countries to respect Lebanon's neutrality and independence.

□ WRECKED BY seven years of civil war, foreign intervention, PLO ruthlessness and the present fighting, Lebanon is in dire need of relief and reconstruction on a vast scale, an international effort in which Israel and the Arab states should be asked to participate. Such a latter-day Marshall Plan should benefit not only the afflicted Lebanese population but also Palestinian refugees living in conditions of distress in that country.

□ A NEW EFFORT must be undertaken to restart the deadlocked Palestinian autonomy negotiations by convening a round-table conference with the participation of Jordan and Palestinian representatives.

□ AND FINALLY, a Lebanon which is at peace with itself, free from foreign intervention and ruled by a stable government of national consensus, should be urged to join the Camp David peace process, following in the footsteps of Egypt. With all foreign troops, including those of Israel, withdrawn from its soil, the PLO chastened and disarmed, with no territorial claims entertained by either Israel or Lebanon, no major obstacles block the road to peace between the two countries, provided Lebanon is prepared to respect Israel's political independence and territorial integrity and live with it in peace as a good neighbour, as Israel has pledged to do from the very inception of its regained statehood.

The writer is a former director-general of the Foreign Ministry and former ambassador to the UN and Britain.

LOOKING DOWN the road, President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State Alexander Haig are hoping that their well-publicized refusal to publicly rebuke Israel for moving its forces into Lebanon will have a positive spin-off on the dormant Palestinian autonomy negotiations. That is their hope — but so far, it is only a hope.

Getting those Camp David negotiations back on track will become a major U.S. diplomatic objective once the fighting in Lebanon stops and the central Lebanese government achieves some semblance of credibility and doubt.

U.S. officials have confirmed that enormous pressure — from all sorts of sources — is mounting on the Reagan Administration to press Israel and Egypt more firmly to conclude the autonomy talks, setting the stage for West Bank and Gaza elections to establish a five-year transition authority for the Palestinians living there.

But, clearly disappointed, they also have confirmed that Prime Minister Menachem Begin, during his sessions with Reagan and Haig this week, did not come forward with much to indicate a greater Israeli flexibility in the autonomy negotiations. Indeed, they said, Israel has not even budged on its insistence that the negotiations rotate between Cairo, Washington and Jerusalem — despite Egypt's refusal to meet in the Israeli capital.

"So while Mr. Reagan has avoided a confrontation with Mr. Begin on the immediate problems in Lebanon," wrote *The New York Times* columnist James Reston on June 23, "nobody in Israel should be misled by Mr. Reagan's amiable good manners."

RESTON PREDICTED that Reagan's smiles will disappear if Israel does not demonstrate a greater readiness to promote "full autonomy" for the Palestinians, as envisaged in the Camp David accords.

He said the U.S. is ready to negotiate. "If the Israelis will reconsider their policies on the West Bank and give the Palestinians an honest chance at autonomy under the Camp David agreements, then it may be possible to put together an international military force, including U.S. troops, to defend Israel's borders from attack," wrote Reston.

"But if I hear even the most pro-Israel members of this administration right, Mr. Begin cannot have it both ways, and will be hearing this

WHAT IS the present condition of the great mystery of our time; Washington's policy in the Levant.

The bloodletting, looted by the PLO and its Moslem allies upon the Christians in Lebanon in 1975 was the result of Syrian maneuvers and encouragement. In the next phase, when the Christians, badly battered, appeared to be on the verge of total defeat and indeed threatened by annihilation, the Syrians changed sides, came into Lebanon, attacked the PLO and rescued the Christians. They thus prevented the PLO and the Moslems from taking over state power. This role they took upon themselves.

To achieve "legitimacy," they persuaded the Arab League to intervene and to create an "Arab peace-keeping force" — which was, in fact, Syrian. Elias Sarkis was their nominee as president; and he dutifully "invited" them to stay in Lebanon to "keep the peace." Through a puppet government, the Syrians thenceforth conducted Lebanon's affairs.

Repeated efforts by the armed Christian organizations to loosen the hold of the Syrians — and of the PLO who established themselves throughout the civilian centres — were crushed with characteristic brutality. Only two forces — a cluster of villages adjacent to the Israeli border, organized by Major Sa'ad Haddad, and Israel — prevented the Syrians and the PLO from completing their control of all Lebanon.

It is to the credit of Yitzhak Rabin's government that it took Haddad's Christian militias under its wing. Ravaged by artillery attacks by overwhelmingly superior PLO forces, the villages of Southern Lebanon would have been obliterated were it not for Israeli arms supplies, logistic support and humanitarian services supplied through the "Good Fence" at Metulla.

The Syrian objectives were not secret. They had always claimed Lebanon to be part of Syria. Its possession meant also the eradication of the partial sovereignty enjoyed by the Christians — anathema to the Moslems. Control of Lebanon provides the basis for deepening the front against Israel — whose conquered territory is also marked out for inclusion — with the rest of the Palestine — in "Greater Syria."

Throughout the years of destruction and slaughter in Lebanon, Syria was able to depend (apart from its



(Ya'akov Sa'ar)

BEGIN BLUNDER

By WOLF BLITZER/Post Washington Correspondent

from Mr. Reagan later.

"He cannot get the United States to defend the rights of Israeli people so long as he denies the rights of the Palestinians. That is the heart of the problem, and if not now, President Reagan will be seeing Prime Minister Begin about it later."

A lead editorial in *The New York Times* that same day — "What Might Justify Lebanon" — made a similar point: "Israel's security is also America's fight, Israel's claim to the West Bank is not."

BEGIN IS certainly a match for anyone in his one-on-one verbal exchanges. The Israeli prime minister is tough, consistent and proud — even defiant. Those admirable characteristics came through very dramatically during all of his meetings in Washington. He can, of course, also be charming, particularly during small, private meetings. But during larger gatherings, he has a tendency to become somewhat condescending, which is normal for most political leaders.

That helps to explain why Begin was rather successful in impressing Reagan during their initial one-on-one meeting in the Oval Office on June 21 and why he failed rather miserably in his closed-door exchange with some 36 U.S. senators a day later.

There's no denying that the prime minister can be very persuasive in small, intimate get-togethers. As an orator, he also can be very effective before large audiences, especially when they consist of his supporters in Israel and the American Jewish community.

But his style fell apart during his highly-publicized meeting with the senators.

According to several sources present at the 90-minute session, Begin got off on the wrong foot by repeatedly "lecturing" the senators, rather than simply responding to their questions. That set the stage for the tense confrontation which quickly emerged. Several senators later charged that Begin's lecturing had bordered on arrogance.

"I think it is fair to say that in my eight years in Washington, I've never seen such an angry session with a foreign head of state," said Democrat Paul Tsongas, of Massachusetts. Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan, of New York, one of the few senators who defended Israel during the meeting, concurred: "It was the most difficult meeting with a head of state, certainly in my experience." And Republican Larry Pressler, of South Dakota, later told reporters: "It was the first time that I've seen such a confrontation between the prime

minister of Israel and senators head to head."

The night before Begin had met in his hotel suite with seven senators. By all accounts, that meeting went quite smoothly. The senators emerged with a better understanding of Israel's positions, and Begin had gained some insight into the thinking of a broad spectrum of Republican and Democratic thinking on Capitol Hill.

Even Begin's separate session with members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, went off quite well, according to sources present. But all of that success in Congress evaporated during the large meeting with the senators.

Israel's Ambassador Moshe Arens later tended to blame the "group dynamics" which resulted after Delaware's Democratic Senator Joseph Biden lashed out against Israel's policy of establishing settlements on the West Bank. Biden is a well-known friend of Israel, but he clearly touched a sensitive nerve in the prime minister. And whenever a known pro-Israel senator criticizes Israel, other lesser friends come out of the woodwork to jump aboard the anti-Israeli bandwagon.

Biden, an outspoken lawmaker with an oratorical streak not unlike

that of Begin, did not criticize the Israeli assault against the PLO in Lebanon. Indeed, he had expressed support for it. But he was rather forceful in complaining about the settlements. And he also rejected Begin's earlier assertion — in response to a comment by Republican Charles Mathias, of Maryland — that support for Israel among the American public was eroding. Begin had insisted that support for Israel was never higher — a claim disputed by Biden.

OTHER SENATORS, challenging Begin's upbeat assessment, emerged from the meeting to say that U.S. public support for Israel had reached an all-time low: "I think there is a lot of concern among those of us who are supporters of Israel that their policies are in excess," said Tsongas. "And support for Israel in this country is eroding."

Like others, Tsongas differentiated between his support for Israel, as opposed to his support for Begin.

There was a dramatic, perhaps conclusion to what had been a rather successful Begin visit to Washington.

There was a dramatic, perhaps historic, flip-flop in the traditional executive-legislative roles in Washington. It was the first time that an Israeli prime minister seemed to find more support and understanding in the administration (in the names of Reagan and Haig) than in Congress, Israel's traditional and expected base of support in Washington.

For years Israel has always been able to count on its clout on Capitol Hill to counterbalance the negative attitudes in the executive branch of the U.S. government.

It was also the first time that many senators had complained that an administration had not been tough enough with an Israeli prime minister. In the past, the opposite has always been the case.

Because the session with the senators received such extensive publicity in the U.S. media, Israel's future bargaining position with Washington has been automatically weakened. The Reagan Administration can now point to this perceived slippage of support for Israel in pressing for more concessions.

And most observers expect that that is exactly what will happen as the administration eventually moves from the immediate crisis in Lebanon to the more fundamental problem involving the West Bank and Gaza.

American mystery

By SHMUEL KATZ

Arab friends) on two great supporters. Long a client, indeed a near-satellite of Moscow, with whom it maintains close contact, Syria has been the recipient of tremendous quantities of Soviet arms. In any confrontation with the Soviet Union, Syria would be a natural Soviet base. Its other great supporter is the United States of America.

WASHINGTON EMBRACED the fiction of Syria's "peacekeeping" role. It exerted considerable pressure on Israel in 1976 to agree to an extension of the area under Syrian control. It pretended that there was a stable and independent government in Beirut, and made great efforts to persuade Israel to abandon Major Haddad and his brave people — to the mercies, inevitably of their sworn enemies.

In the war within Lebanon, which in the years from 1975 brought about the uprooting or flight of nearly a million people and the death of an estimated 100,000, which destroyed the fabric of life in this previously tranquil, civilized country, the U.S. role was in diplomatic support of the pro-Soviet forces of destruction.

The threat of self-frustrating irrationality in U.S. policy is not new. Indeed, the high priest of the U.S. policy towards the Soviet Union up to 1976 — Henry Kissinger — subsequently confessed that future historians would stand amazed at its absurdity ("that to be strong we must be vulnerable"). Its absurdity in Lebanon has been more immediately obvious — and gruesome.

PARALLEL WITH its policy towards Syria, the U.S. government has continually thrown up a protective cover for the PLO. With the incessant campaign of murder against Israeli civilians in plain view, Washington did its best to thwart every Israeli effort to put an end to PLO activities. Every severe reaction by Israel was met by denunciation from Washington, sometimes by hint of threatened sanctions and ultimately by sanctions themselves.

If the PLO's intentions towards Israel were not enough, it became universally known that this organization served as the operative agency of the Soviet Union in the promotion and organization of international terror. The Soviet Union provided arms and, together with its satellites, training facilities for PLO officers.

The PLO's own bases in Lebanon were developed over the years as training centres for members of all the world's terrorist organizations. The PLO thus became the heart and centre of the scourge of international terror.

When the Reagan Administration came to office, it immediately raised hopes of massive action against this novel threat to the Western world. One of the first statements by Secretary of State Alexander Haig in January 1981 was in fact a declaration of war in international terror.

To this day, no visible effort has been made to fulfill this pledge. On the contrary, precisely like its predecessors, this administration has performed grotesque acrobatics in order not to notice PLO activities throughout the world, and it has pretended never to have heard that there was an organization whose declared central passion was the destruction of the State of Israel and its people.

Indeed, it was the Reagan Administration that first actually "punished" Israel for making a determined attempt to destroy the infrastructure of its mortal enemy. In the spring and summer of 1981, Israeli Air Force attacks on PLO headquarters and bases in Lebanon had all but brought about the consummation of that objective. Israeli Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan, a competent judge, believed that several more days of action would have completed the task. His view was shared by terrorist leader Yasser Arafat, who appealed urgently to Saudi Arabia to save his organization from collapse — by getting Washington to press Israel to desist.

The Saudis complied at once; and the U.S., in knee-jerk reaction, duly

pressed Jerusalem. Hence the tragicomic cease-fire of July 1981 (Washington had meanwhile withheld from Israel planes already contracted for).

The U.S. Administration thus played a major part in facilitating the tranquil, undisturbed renewed build-up of PLO forces and arsenals, now accelerated by huge supplies of arms from the Soviet Union.

The dimensions of PLO arsenals so far overrun by the Israel forces in the present Operation Peace for Galilee have shocked even Israeli intelligence experts and ordnance specialists. One of them has assessed the quantities of all types of arms, ammunition and explosives as sufficient to arm one million men. Such quantities are far, far beyond any prospective PLO capacity. They light up the cumulative threat being built up, a stone-throw from Israel's northern border, by the PLO in collaboration with the Soviets — and under the cosy protective hand of the U.S.

AS ANOTHER unexpected by-product of the Peace for Galilee operation, Israel demonstrated in astonishing degree that she is the one serious, dependable deterrent force (apart, perhaps, from Turkey) in the Middle East. The downing of nearly 100 MIG aircraft in aerial combat without loss (surely an unprecedented feat), the destruction of 19 SA missile batteries, again without any damage to the attacking planes, and then the destruction of sophisticated Soviet tanks — all classified in the West as being the highest range of Soviet technological capacity — constitute a significant Israeli contribution to

Western military assessment and planning.

OPERATION PEACE for Galilee has thus faced the masters of U.S. policy with several accomplished, and embarrassing, facts. The military strength of the PLO has been broken and its international ramifications have been at least seriously curtailed. Syria has emerged with substantial injuries and with lost face. Major Haddad has been welcomed spontaneously as a leader far beyond his own enclave. Israel's action has, in fact, frustrated almost all the policies which the U.S. has pursued for years.

Above all, the damage done by the way to manifest Soviet concerns has not only served to expose and emphasize the identity of interests between the Soviets, the Syrians and the PLO, but the incredible fatuity of American policy in supporting and protecting the Soviets, poisonous clients.

No wonder, then, that on television last Sunday, U.S. Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger, ranted and raved against Israel. No wonder, then, that Prime Minister Menachem Begin, according to U.S. network reports, received such a cold, even sour, welcome from the habitually jovial President Ronald Reagan when he arrived at the White House on Monday. For the American leaders had little option but to accept a situation not of their making — and to adopt Israel's perfectly rational proposals which, in addition to the rest of the bounty, offer the possibility of restoring Lebanon.

The lessons of Lebanon should indeed move the makers of U.S. policy to question anew their thralldom to Arab interests and dictates, their compliance with the State Department's traditional anti-Israeli doctrines — and the consequent undermining of America's strategic posture in the global confrontation with the Soviet Union.

But such a re-appraisal would, of course, put an end to the American Mystery.

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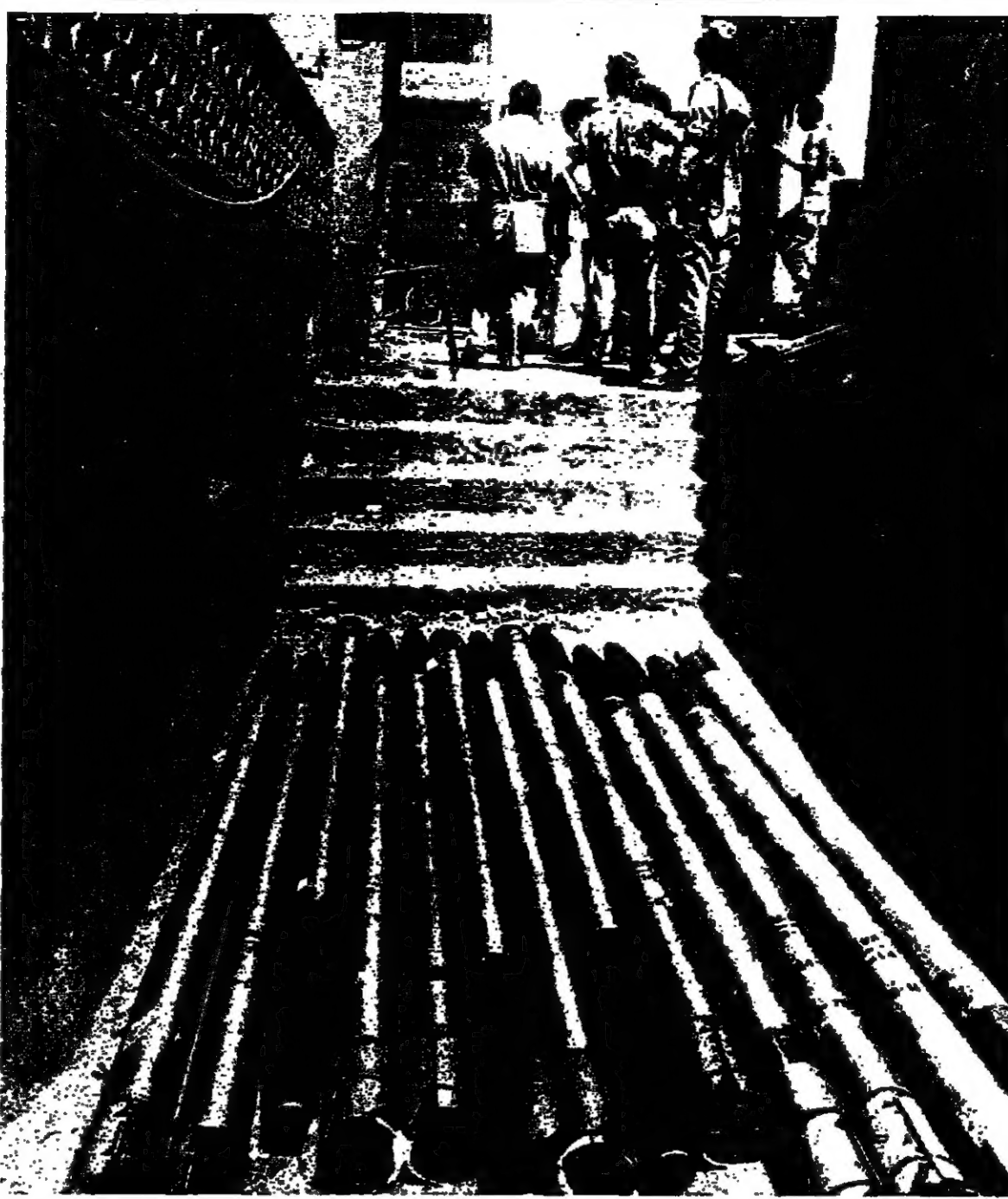
Doors open 8.00 p.m. for 8.30 p.m.

Refreshments will be served.

TODAY'S LESSON Safe Drivers Save School Children's Lives!

Close encounters

By YOSEF GOELL / Jerusalem Post Reporter



pane left whole in the entire city." Six hours later I met Dada again at the office of the officer in charge of civilian affairs. He was still waiting for his travel permit. He was still optimistic.

ON THE previous day we also met two Lebanese Christians who were sure to profit, each in his own way, from the war. Young Ayoub, of the mixed Christian-Druse quarter of Shou'eifat on the outskirts of Beirut, had invited us to climb to the roof of his house to get a bird's eye view of the artillery exchange which seemed to be concentrating on the Beirut airport airstrip and the neighbouring PLO-controlled Burj al-Barajna camp.

When I asked him what he did, after he had volunteered his hope that "the Israelis will stay here *abadan* (for ever) — he said with a broad smile that he worked as a body repairman at a neighbouring garage.

Pretty much at the other end of the socio-economic scale was one of the Jounieh millionaires my colleague, David Landau, and I met in that little piece of Lebanese Riviera.

After a low-key exchange on the affinity of the Christians and the Israelis, and the prospects for an Israeli push into West Beirut, we asked discreetly as to his occupation. "I'm a company director," he told us. "What sort of company?"

"One of Lebanon's biggest contracting firms for road building and tarring," he answered nonchalantly.

WHAT'S IN A (PLACE) NAME?

Twenty-five years ago, when I first moved to Jerusalem, most Jerusalemites were still in the habit of going home for lunch, to homes that were within walking distance. When my colleagues at work asked me why I didn't do the same, I told them that I lived in Beit Hakerem, which was simply too far away to make the whole trip worthwhile. "Mistaken," they said, "why did you choose to live out of town?"

Claiming, as official spokesmen do, that Israeli forces are not in Beirut is very much like claiming in 1982 that Beit Hakerem is not in Jerusalem. The fact is that Israeli forces are very much in Beirut, and such neighbourhoods as Ba'abda, Shou'eifat and the others that figure in the news, are part of that large metropolis.

One of the problems of a city divided along a jagged battle front is that uniformed soldiers and journalists inadvertently wander across the lines. The Beirutis, having lived through seven years of a confusing civil war have an admirable sixth sense for "what is ours and what is theirs." The Israelis don't.

To avoid this, the army has posted mechanized infantry units in "Zelda" personnel carriers at critical intersections. The best way to spot these "Zeldas" is to look for clusters of children climbing over some unidentified object. At times the black-jacketed and helmeted Israeli traffic directors seem more engaged in instructing awe-struck, admiring Lebanese kids in the finer points of "Zelding" than in keeping their eyes peeled for errant Israelis like us. The mamas and the papas of these young Israeli warriors — should be glad to hear about the impressive self-discipline of their sons, which keeps them safely jacketed and helmeted, despite the summer heat. We were told that these accessories have saved scores if not hundreds of lives.

COMPLAINTS of anti-Israel bias, and of glaring double standards applied against Israel by the international media, have multiplied ever since the world stopped spoiling us in the wake of the Six Day War. Many of these complaints, are based on facts. Others are expressions of the usual Israeli paranoia and of our sick insistence on being loved by everyone, even in situations that are basically "unlovable," such as the current one in war-smashed Sidon. But our own stupidities undoubtedly help.

Sidon was among the worst hit of the Lebanese coastal cities which sheltered major PLO bases. Some of the international reports of the entire city's having been wiped out were distorted exaggerations. Early counter-claims by Israel that the "damage" was limited to the town's main street only, were inane attempts at counter-propaganda, and easily disproved by anyone with

even a half-way good set of eyes in his head.

Perhaps the worst damage done to Israel's name abroad on the issue of damage to Lebanese civilian life was Prime Minister Begin's gratuitous reference to the terror bombing of Dresden in World War II as a justifying analogy to Sidon. There is simply no way to compare the damage in war-stricken Sidon to the damage done to willfully demolished European cities during World War II, whether Dresden, London, Coventry or Rotterdam. But a great harm has been done by Begin's insistence on that misleading analogy.

But what is one to make of the following? A group of journalists, after driving through Sidon, supplemented by some very short walks, came in to speak to the "assistant to the officer in charge of civilian affairs."

Seren Amnon, a Bat Yam building contractor in civilian life, is a soft-spoken man, who has clearly been briefed about what to say to the flood of journalists, local and foreign, who were let into Lebanon this week.

"What would you say is the major problem confronting the local population, now that rehabilitation has begun," we asked him.

"Getting the PLO off their backs," he answered, according to the briefing book.

"Does that mean that the PLO is still here, if they still constitute the most crucial of their problems?" we asked.

"No, no, as far as we know there are no more PLO terrorists in the neighbourhood," he replied quickly, the briefing book apparently not covering such an eventuality.

"Well then, what is the main problem now that the PLO is off their backs?"

"They have no problems. Their own local leaders are capable of doing everything that has to be done to get this town back on its feet. We have offered our help, but they're doing fine without us. This is a rich and highly organized people, and they'll be back on their feet in no time."

In truth, on the second day of a two day visit, one could see very definite progress in getting Sidon back on its feet. But assertions that there are "no major problems" confronting the civilian population, when made to admittedly dim-witted journalists who have just come through the town, is an insult, even to their limited intelligence.

If I were a foreign correspondent, handed such a load of hogwash, I wouldn't believe a word coming out of the mouths of these people. In all fairness, it should be noted that the IDF spokesman's officer, who was our official man for the trip, didn't believe a word of it either.

Our fighting men deserve much better from our explaining men.

RELUCTANT ALLIES

By DAVID BERNSTEIN / Post Middle East Affairs Reporter

"GOD SENT you to save us," said the Maronite woman in Beirut's bullet-scarred Ein Rumaneh district, just a few metres from the Green Line that separates the Christian east from the predominantly Moslem western sector of the Lebanese capital.

Her sentiment was echoed by the old man at the top of Mount Harissa, barely twelve kilometres to the north but a world away.

"We have only God and you," he told us, inviting us to a coffee in the cafe with a panoramic view of Jounieh some 900 metres below — the idyllic, war-spurned heart of the

Christian mini-state that extends for some 40 kilometres along the coast from Beirut to Batroune.

There can be little doubting the depth of these and similar extravagantly pro-Israel sentiments. Journalists and soldiers have been encountering time and again in the

Maronite areas of Lebanon. There would, indeed, seem to be a clear community of interest between the Christians of Lebanon and the Jews of Israel, both aliens in a hostile Moslem environment — a community of interest the current crisis in Lebanon would, at first sight, appear to confirm.

And it is all too easy to accept at face value the hackneyed piece of political wisdom one heard so much of before the 1975-76 civil war tore our peaceful northern neighbour apart — that a Christian-led, Western-oriented Lebanon would be the second Arab state to make peace with Israel.

BUT AS ONE leaves the streets and talks to the politicians, the Phalange officials who represent the dominant voice in Maronite Lebanese politics, one's faith in this proposition is steadily eroded. At the end, one is left with the distinct impression that peace between Lebanon and Israel, however desirable it might be to the Christians in theory, is just not possible, given regional political realities.

The sources we spoke to at the headquarters of Bashir Jemayel's Lebanese Forces in Beirut earlier this week left us with little doubt that they welcomed Israel's invasion — primarily because it had shattered the intolerable *status quo* that had emerged in the wake of the Lebanese civil war.

The PLO mini-state in the south has been totally erased, and Syria's political-military stranglehold on the capital, Beirut, has been effectively removed.

The way is now clear, they believe, for a political settlement that will leave Lebanon free of all foreign armed forces — Israeli, Syrian and Palestinian — and under the control of a strong, Phalange-led central government.

They know that the Israel Defence Forces will withdraw to the international border sooner or later, with adequate guarantees for the security of its northern settlements.

As for the Palestinians, they believe that the PLO will also be brought to heel in some way or another — either through a final Israeli thrust into its last remaining strongholds in West Beirut (something our sources profess to abhor, in view of the destruction

this is likely to wreak) or, preferably it would seem, through some form of political settlement that would leave the PLO without arms.

They are also confident that Lebanon's Moslems are behind them on both of these points. The Moslems totally oppose the Israeli invasion, and, according to the Phalange, are thoroughly sick of the Palestinians, who have brought nothing but catastrophe to the Moslem towns and villages of the south.

The other side of the coin, it appears, would be a readiness by Lebanon to integrate itself into the Arab world, acknowledge its Arab nature and identify with broad Arab goals.

OUR PHALANGE sources indicated that the Maronites — despite their basic Western rather than Arab cultural orientation (many appear to be more at home in French than in Arabic) — are now aware that this is the price they are going to have to pay if there is ever to be a free, independent Lebanon.

For it is not only the precondition for any possible Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon — a *sine qua non* for the Phalange — but it is also the only way the country's Christian and Moslem communities will ever be welded into anything approaching a unified nation.

What this means for Israel is clear: having brought matters to their present state, having paved the way for the possible emergence of a new political order in Lebanon, Israel is no longer of any great political importance to the Phalange. On the contrary, too close an identification with Israel and its present aims in Lebanon would only stand in the way of any possible Christian reconciliation with the Moslems or political settlement with the Syrians.

This might explain the extreme reluctance of the Phalange to get involved in any meaningful way in the current fighting in Lebanon. Our sources indicated, quite clearly, that if Israel believed it still had a job to do in West Beirut, it should not count on any help from local forces in Lebanon — including the Phalange-led Lebanese Forces.

(Israel probably did, in fact, expect more from Jemayel's men, whose olive-drab uniforms — only the logo above the left breast pocket distinguishes them from those worn in the IDF —



Phalange and Israel soldiers in Beirut. (Rahamin Israeli)

That leaves Syria. And it is Syria — not, it would seem, Israel or the PLO — that is now the Phalange's major preoccupation.

THE PHALANGE appears to recognize that, like it or not, any workable settlement in Lebanon is going to have to be subject to Syria's agreement.

Damascus has so far never come to terms with Lebanon's existence as an independent state, considering it to have been artificially separated, by the French, from Greater Syria.

Accordingly, it has consistently refused to exchange ambassadors with Beirut, and also felt free to intervene in force when the opportunity arose.

This is a situation that the Phalange considers intolerable. As

appear to lend some substance to foreign reports of cooperation between Israel and Lebanese Christians. The Phalange are plainly reluctant to talk about these reported contacts with Israel, although Camille Chamoun — veteran leader of the Christian Lebanese Front, which embraces the Phalange — did state in an interview with Israel TV at the beginning of this week that "the Israeli government and the Israeli people were the only ones who responded to our pleas for military equipment with which to defend ourselves in 1975-76."

It would also explain the marked coolness our sources displayed when the prospect of peace with Israel was raised openly.

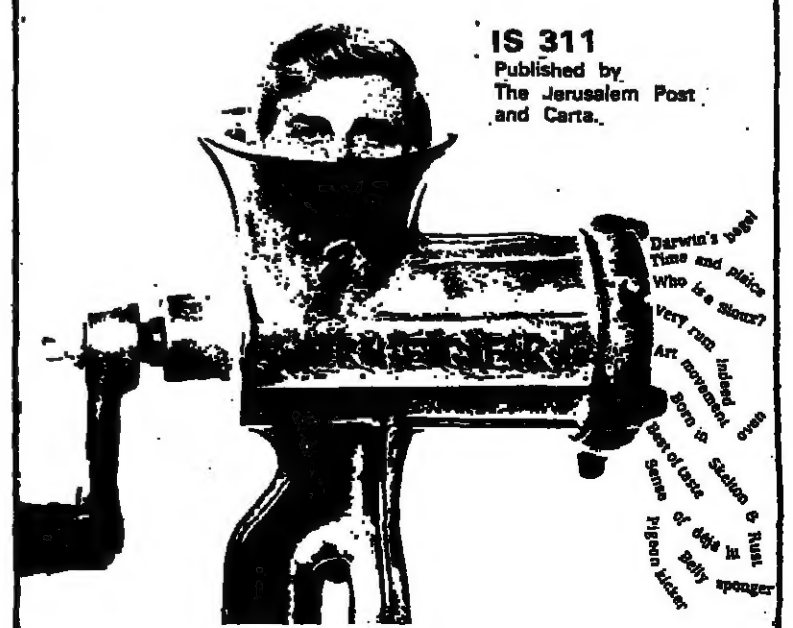
"Well, if President Ronald Reagan should make peace with Israel a condition for a withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon, then maybe ..."

But if not, the dream many Israelis — including our prime minister — still appear to harbour of a Phalange-led Lebanon following in Egypt's footsteps and making peace with Israel, would seem to be just that — a dream.

With Prejudice

The Best of Berlyne

Alex Berlyne's mind is either a fount of erudition or a rubbish dump, depending on your point of view. In the ten years "With Prejudice" has been appearing in The Jerusalem Post, the column has dealt with such *abstruse* topics as Anal (a language spoken in Burma and Manipur), the way Shakespeare's puns crop up in comic postcards four centuries later, and the age-old question of "Who is a Sioux?" With tongue planted firmly in cheek, Berlyne lovingly assails nearly every institution hallowed by man.



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Post Political Correspondent Mark Segal talks to Abba Eban and Yitzhak Rabin about the Lebanon war

FORMER foreign minister Abba Eban believes that, having ensured the peace of Galilee and dealt devastating blows to the myths of PLO and Syrian power, the government should take care "not to stretch the elastic too far" and overextend Israel's military and economic resources in Lebanon.

But he also feels that "once an earthquake has happened, the opportunity should be used to rebuild more beautifully and not restore things as they were."

In an interview with *The Jerusalem Post* this week, the Labour Party's spokesman on foreign affairs stressed the consistency and credibility of his party's position on the military operation; however, he did concede that strident voices on its left and right fringes have overshadowed the balanced stand of the majority.

The party's position had developed in keeping with the various phases of the war, Eban said.

Before the fighting began, the party consistently warned against precipitate action; the views of party chairman Shimon Peres, Yitzhak Rabin, Haim Bar-Lev and Mordechai Gur were reiterated over the previous three months.

These reservations had some weight; Rabin, Bar-Lev and Gur, with all their military experience, had argued that there was no justification for a large-scale military operation in Lebanon.

Eban recalled that these men had personally conveyed their strictures to Premier Menachem Begin, for which they were taken to task in the "militant press." The party's logic, Eban explained, was that Israel's security situation was satisfactory, that Galilee had been quiet for the past year, and that Israel's deterrent was effective against Syria and the PLO.

Of course, he added, the PLO was building up its arsenal; yet that was nothing compared to the reinforcement of the Israel Defence Forces on the positive side, or to the flow of arms to Syria and Jordan on the negative side. Hence Labour's advice had been to maintain the ceasefire and the strong deterrent, reserving the right to react to individual incidents as they occur. "And in all our discussions since the war began, no one has suggested we repent of our positions," Eban added.

Phase two began with Peres, Rabin and Bar-Lev being called in to Begin's office to be told that the government had decided to bomb Beirut heavily and launch a massive land operation, which began about one hour later. The Labour leaders were informed that the operation was aimed at preventing the terrorists from reaching any centre of Israeli population.

"From that point the party took the line that we should give our fullest backing to our forces, on whose efficiency and valour we rely, and support the limited and crucial objectives of the operation as stated by the prime minister on the 40-kilometre terrorist-free zone. I don't see anything contradictory between phases one and two. I continue to hold that to have entered phase two contentiously would have been both pointless and distressing to our troops in the field. What we did in phase two, as laid down by Peres in his Knesset statement, was to determine the precise limits of

'The art of war is to know when to stop'

the operation. We took seriously Begin's own declaration that the operation was to secure the peace of Galilee.

THE FORMER foreign minister then discussed the largely unnoticed fact that the government was operating around Beirut without any parliamentary authorization to do so. "The only mandate the government obtained from the Knesset was to clear the 40-kilometre zone. I've read Begin's Knesset speech, and I've failed to see the mosques and churches of Beirut in between the lines," he pointed out.

The Knesset defence and foreign affairs committee had frequently considered the war, but it had never actually voted on the issue. "I have raised the matter both at the Knesset committee and our party forum concerning the kind of mandate the government has for its activities in the suburbs of Beirut. At stake is the major principle of parliamentary legitimacy of a military operation. This is of special importance where there is a defence minister like Ariel Sharon who is not exactly a fanatical adherent of parliamentary democracy," Eban declared.

Phase three began on the fifth day of the war, "when we had removed the threat to Galilee and scored against the Syrian missiles. I thought it a good time for a ceasefire. That was on Thursday, and indeed our Knesset session met that evening and urged a ceasefire."

Since then they had published a list of principles, including not going into Beirut and not involving the civilian population in the fighting. As to his party's internal debate, Eban rejected criticism from both poles — the left wanted Labour to be more critical, and the right held the statement went too far.

The Labour spokesman was gratified that Sharon had taken the Opposition to task in his TV appearances for not supporting his extra-Galilee operation. "I am convinced that our basic position will stand the test of time... There may be criticism that our position has not had any proper echo, which is difficult given the reverberation of the drama and sacrifice of the bat-

tlefield. Moreover, the government is in command of television and radio, as reflected in the inequitable division of time accorded to Begin and Sharon on the one hand, and Opposition leaders on the other. However, I think we don't need to apologize for muting our criticism while our young men are fighting," he said.

Eban then focused on the dilemma facing his party: "Something takes place which initially you didn't want. Does it mean you should not take advantage of the outcome? After all, perhaps our position does parallel that of the Americans — initial disapproval and eventual hope that new opportunities have offered themselves for a positive outcome. It's the great paradox that war does open up horizons for peace. We have peace with Egypt because we had war with them. We can only hope that something stable can be rebuilt out of the earthquake. The question now is how to extract the best possible result," he declared.

Eban proceeded to draw up a kind of balance sheet of the operation. The PLO's threats to the north have been removed and the organization will remain very weak for a long time to come; also, Syrian military power is that much less threatening. "But I would warn against believing we can achieve much beyond that."

He then listed the unsolved problems. First, the PLO still exists and "can be expected to rearm." "Since the sense of frustration in the Arab world might grow, we can expect an intensification of acts of terror like the attempt on the life of Shlomo Argov," he warned.

Second, the Palestinian problem remains unsolved in the wider sense, and it can only be resolved by political action. "Logically, we could say that the Palestinians might now be more disposed to compromise with Israel. After all, their friends have proven to be so many broken reeds. We should also be ready to relinquish our hold on 1.5 million Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza. But that's too logical. In the absence of a strong leadership for the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, they can be expected to become more apathetic



(Abba Eban)

and less cooperative than before. Especially because the present government of Israel is offering them autonomy as a prelude to annexation, which they don't want."

Third, the Lebanese question. The Labour Party would like Lebanon to be free of foreign forces, and become once again sovereign and united. "But anyone who knows the history of Lebanon ought to be reserved in offering suggestions. The fragmentation of Lebanon into sects and groups existed before the Syrians moved in, and will remain after they go — if they go. There are inherent elements leading to disintegration — Maronites, Orthodox, Moslems, Shi'ites, Phalangists, Druse — all subdivided into sub-sects. It's difficult to make something solid out of such powdery stuff. The lower the Israeli profile, the better. We cannot establish Lebanese unity on Israeli bayonets. Our party is certainly opposed to that. As far as I know the Americans are seeking an opportunity to re-establish stability in Lebanon, but not via a Christian-Phalangist-Haddad regime. They believe that the Moslem majority has to be involved," he said.

THE FORMER foreign minister spoke sharply against "Beaufortia": "As long as our casualties grow, there can be no room for rejoicing," he said soberly. Here Eban confirmed a story I had heard from a colleague: "We heard a long report in the committee from Sharon on the operation, but he never bothered to mention either our casualties or civilian casualties on the other side. When I asked him about this, he hurriedly looked up one of his files. I found it incredible that he thought he could have made his report on the war without opening with a statement on the casualties. After all this is the issue. Loss of life is the only permanent thing, the gains are all prospective. We are against risking further lives for Beirut. If Begin says that he is not interested in risking Israeli lives to capture Arafat, I don't see why we should risk them for lesser PLO characters."

"HOW do you foresee the war ending?" I asked.

"The art of war is to know when to stop," replied Eban. Looking back at the history of the state, he noted that Begin and his party had since the War of Independence opposed all arrangements to stop fighting. Herut tried to keep the Sinai Campaign going, and, in 1970, Begin led Gahal out of the national unity government after Golda Meir agreed to end the War of Attrition. In 1972, Begin led the Likud in opposing Dr. Kissinger's proposals to end the Yom Kippur War.

"So, you see, they don't have much experience in stopping wars," Eban said acidly, recalling Churchill's comment at the end of World War II: "If I listened to my generals I would have to garrison the moon in order to prevent an attack from Mars."

Eban spoke of the sober appraisals he had had from senior officers. "They are aware of the dangers of euphoria from a military point of view. When Sharon says this war is greater than previous wars, his motives are political — to belittle previous governments. He seems to forget that in the past wars the IDF had to face dozens of enemy divisions, thousands of soldiers, hundreds of aircraft and missiles, and on more than one front. This war was on one front against a few thousand terrorists and a small part of the Syrian army. The minister of defence should avoid fostering dangerous illusions which might have unfortunate repercussions."

Asked whether the Labour Party had had any influence on the course of events, Eban said that this was the first time a government had used its prerogative of going to war without involving the Opposition. He recalled the meeting called by Levi Eshkol on May 23, 1967, to which Begin, who was then leader of the Opposition, was invited along with former chiefs-of-staff.

Operation Peace for Galilee is the first major operation for which there has been a lack of unanimous support, with reservations being expressed not only by the Opposition but also by the main components of the coalition, he pointed out. "We trod heavily on the brake pedal, but it turned out that the brakes were

not connected to the wheels," he added.

Yet his party had projected an image of disunity, I remarked, with Yossi Sarid (on the left) and Imri Ron of Mapam, on the right, capturing public attention.

Eban reminded me that the Labour Party was a pluralistic political movement. "We are not hypnotized by charismatic leadership. Any discord is the result of democracy. What I do find intolerable is how people, especially some American Jews, keep telling us (a) 'Isn't it marvelous that you are so democratic,' and (b) 'Why aren't you more united?'"

To the left, he said, that the debate should have been postponed until after the fighting. To the right, as represented by Shoshana Arbeli-Almosino and Ron, he said that he would have been ashamed of belonging to a party that did not concern itself with human suffering.

He deplored Begin's reliance on the examples of Dresden and Coventry to justify what had happened in Lebanon. In the countries concerned, the political leaders had subsequently wrestled with guilt over these bombing raids. Begin's choice of examples was more than unfortunate, Eban argued.

On the whole, Eban wishes that Israel could get away from previous epochs in order to look more to the future. In his latest book, *The New Diplomacy*, he has devoted a chapter to "statesmen stuck in traumatic periods. Anthony Eden, for instance, spoke of Nasser's taking over the Suez Canal in terms of Hitler's occupation of Europe. John Foster Dulles compared what happened in Korea to the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, when they were totally different historical situations."

Referring to Begin, Eban remarked on how he invokes the Holocaust when talking of disparate situations. For example, Begin used the term Holocaust to describe the Maronite stand on a hilltop near Jounieh. "Instead of considering the Holocaust as *sui generis*, he tends to diminish it by such comparisons," Eban regretted.

EBAN SAID he was proud of an Israel which, despite being engaged in war, could afford to indulge in the expression of scruples and discomfort about the human suffering caused by it.

He added that under the circumstances, the advice of Talleyrand "to cooperate with the inevitable" is wise counsel. Now that the earthquake has occurred, it is best to rebuild something better, and not repeat the old mistakes.

Eban thinks that Israel has done well to secure the peace of Galilee and reduce the PLO and the Syrians to size. But he is afraid that Israel might get bogged down in Lebanon while waiting for the government's conditions for withdrawal to be met. "There is the inertia of staying around. Who knows, someone might start a settlement movement up there," he said jokingly.

He rejected strongly the talk of his fellow Labour MKs about joining the Likud in a government of national unity. "We are divided by issues that will now be even more relevant," he said. "At stake is the kind of Israel each party envisages: Labour's Jewish and democratic state with secure boundaries, or the Likud's Israel exercising its coercive jurisdiction over 1.5 million Arabs. I find these concepts to be irreconcilable. Because the view of the future casts its shadow backwards, those for partition can be more compromising on the autonomy scheme than those who ascribe to the Greater Israel ideology," he argued.

How will Labour's fortunes be affected by the war?

"To its credit, the party hasn't thought too much about itself. There are times when one shouldn't ask such questions," he declared emphatically.

There are some who might say that the government will be swept back into office with a greater margin at the coming elections, Eban noted. "But this does not always happen. I doubt whether Entebbe had any influence on the 1977 elections. Then again, in the 1974 elections held immediately after the Yom Kippur War we got a vote of confidence. I do think that in the context of the common war effort, the party should not enquire about its electoral prospects. After all, who knows what the issues will be in June 1983, the expected date."

What of the Labour Party's difficulties with its Socialist International sister parties, some of which had criticized the Israeli party's support of Operation Peace for Galilee?

"I certainly have no intention of apologizing to anyone, least of all to Bruno Kreisky," Eban replied, sarcastically. "They seem to have forgotten how much we did to prevent the war. How dare they object to our national solidarity! They might look at their own record, and see there is nothing eccentric in ours. It's not so long ago that British Labour leader Michael Foot rose in the Commons to register his support for the task force sent by the Thatcher government against the Argentines. The French Socialists have always been careful to reconcile their programme with their country's national aims. Socialism does not require us to make virulent criticism while our boys are dying. I just don't understand how they could cry over the PLO."

EVER THE CAUTIOUS soldier and politician, Yitzhak Rabin was true to form this week, declining to advance any more than an interim assessment of the political aspects of Operation Peace for Galilee. A fuller review would have to wait until the outcome of the Begin talks in Washington became clear.

But the former prime minister and chief of staff, interviewed by *The Post* in the Knesset Members' dining room on Wednesday, would say that the operation hadn't achieved any of its three goals — "for which I would not have gone to war."

He recalled having said two months ago, in a previous *Post* interview, that he opposed full-scale military action in order to bring about a new Lebanese political order, to remove the Syrian Army from that country, or to eliminate the PLO entirely. (He did, at the time, favour a massive strike to avoid a mini-war of attrition on Israel's northern border.)

Not one of those goals, with which he in any event disagreed, had been attained, Rabin pointed out. "The Syrian army has been dealt a serious blow, but it is still in the Lebanon. There are still major Syrian forces in the Bekaa Valley and along much of the Beirut-Damascus highway. And there are company-strength remnants of a Syrian brigade in Beirut itself."

Second, he said, "the PLO has suffered a devastating blow, and its South Lebanese infrastructure has been destroyed. But it still has its hold on Beirut, and forces and arsenals in Tripoli and north Lebanon for that matter, anywhere in Lebanon where the Syrians still hold sway."

As to the third point, Rabin cautioned against over-optimism on the prospects for success of the Committee of National Salvation: "Lebanon has yet to get a strong central government," he said, "and I am doubtful whether such a government could survive in the coming two years without strong outside military backing."

Nevertheless, Rabin thought that the government should be given the



(Yitzhak Rabin)

opportunity to achieve its aims in the political negotiations to come. And, he warned in the strongest possible terms against initiating any military action to conquer West Beirut, or reopen the battle against the Syrian Army in the Bekaa or on the Beirut-Damascus road.

STILL, RABIN could not speak highly enough of the Israel Defence Forces' achievements, and how the lessons of the Yom Kippur War had been applied — particularly in regard to emergency supplies, military discipline and operational standards. He also referred glowingly to the air force's successes in eliminating the Syrian missiles, and its successes in air battles with the Syrian Air Force.

All told, the chief of staff of the Six Day War said the campaign had produced an impressive achievement for IDF and highlighted the

superiority of U.S. arms over Soviet weaponry.

At the same time, he thought it essential to keep in mind that this war was conducted under convenient conditions for Israel — with the IDF facing only a part of the Syrian Army and the terrorists, who never comprised a serious military challenge.

On the other hand, Rabin dwelt on the exceedingly difficult task imposed on the IDF as far as battle morality was concerned. The IDF was faced with the job of conquering populated areas in which terrorists mingled with non-belligerents.

Since the War of Independence, Israel has not been confronted with the kind of problem facing the IDF in the conquest of Tyre and Sidon. The army had to find the golden mean between restricting injury to the civilian population and saving

the lives of its soldiers.

"Anyone visiting Tyre and Sidon can see that the scenes of destruction were restricted to those areas where fighting took place with the terrorists. I hope it is realized that the IDF even extended the length of the battles for this humane purpose."

In Ain Hilwe, near Sidon, for example, the battle lasted four days because of the long intervals during which intensive efforts were made to separate the non-belligerents from the terrorists. A series of delegations were organized of local dignitaries and of Moslem and Christian clergy. But the PLO commanders were reluctant to let the civilians go.

"I can say without any hesitation that when the army was ordered to take over these cities, it did its utmost to preserve its humanity and morality, which are supreme values for it and for the people of Israel."

'The operation extended well beyond the initial target'

RABIN POINTED out that the cabinet's decisions on June 6 set down the operation's aims as removing the terrorist threat to the north, plus the territorial definition of the 40-kilometre zone. Shortly before the IDF moved, the prime minister had on the Sunday, at 11 a.m., called in a Labour Party delegation comprising Shimon Peres, Haim Bar-Lev and himself to spell out the operation's goal.

"We gave our approval for the operation as it was defined by the cabinet decisions. In fact, we know that the operation extended well beyond the government's initial defined target. It's a fact that we are in the eastern suburbs of Beirut and dominate the Beirut-Damascus highway near the Lebanese capital, as well in the Bekaa Valley," he declared.

Following Begin's visit to Washington, Rabin said, there

seemed to be general agreement to try the path of negotiations in order to achieve three targets: First, the removal of all foreign forces — Syrian, Israeli and PLO. Second, the formation of a Lebanese government resting on as broad a coalition base as possible. Third, the creation of an international force to ensure the terrorist-free, 40-kilometre zone along Israel's northern border.

Rabin said that while his party was not in office and did not govern the country, it still faced the question in view of the emergent military reality, of what to support now. While he would not have gone to war (for the reasons enumerated above) for those aims, now that the army had moved, and such a heavy price had been paid, he would urge that the government be enabled to proceed with negotiations. He added: "I have my doubts whether

they can be maintained in the long run, even if achieved in part." Here, he reiterated his intense opposition to any renewal of the fighting by the IDF, whether the initiative was to take West Beirut or against Syrian troops.

On the other hand, everything should be done to secure the declared aim of the operation, namely peace in Galilee. "We are holding very good cards for this, based on our military achievements. After all it is the most important goal directly affecting the security of this country, and its inhabitants."

When asked to comment on structures (reputedly originating with Defence Minister Sharon) about his having agreed to the Syrian entry into Lebanon when he was premier in 1976, Rabin replied that he is convinced today, as he was then, that his decision was right not to send the army to stop the Syrian forces entering Lebanon. "The Syrian move came at the urgent bidding of the beleaguered Christians," he reminded me. "In the latter part of 1976 (June to December), the Syrian army killed about 3,000 PLO terrorists, twice as many as those who died fighting against the IDF in the present operation."

Moreover, the Israeli cabinet adopted this line after consultations with the U.S. At the time, there was a tacit agreement on a number of issues," Rabin recalled. The Syrian Army was not to cross the so-called "red line" set near the Israeli border, which was parallel to the 40-kilometre zone now being discussed. Here, he added significantly, "When my government left office in June 1977, there were no Syrian troops in that 40-kilometre zone. It's a pity that this situation was not maintained."

It was also tacitly agreed that the Syrians would not introduce missiles into Lebanon, which he noted "was observed, until the Syrian helicopters were shot down in April 1981." The third point was that the Syrian Air Force would not attack Christian targets, and the fourth was that Israel was entitled to fly freely over Lebanon.

Teach us to care and not to care
Teach us to sit still.

T.S. Eliot

AGONIZING WAIT

By ROCHELLE FURSTENBURG / Special to The Jerusalem Post

Each day weighs heavily upon us, and then comes the announcement that all the families of the fallen, the missing, the wounded, have been informed. After the news, I ring up Esther, a psychologist whose son is at the front. She is determinedly cheerful. "In these intense days, we must be careful not to be self-dramatizing," she says. We prepare ourselves by expecting the worse. But our defences can take over, and create a reality before it actually exists.

Everywhere women debate the pros and cons of the war, of Israeli policy, of Ariel Sharon's role. "I wish Begin would stop bending his knee to Sharon," one woman declares bitterly, after Begin's UJA speech in America. A Moroccan housekeeper rejects criticism of the government. "They are like doctors. They can only do so much. The rest is in God's hands," she says. Another woman sighs wearily. "Let them just come home safely, and then we'll fight about politics."

So women wait and pray. People are kinder than usual to each other. Parents of soldiers call to give each other information.

The tension mounts just as we think it will subside. We think we are prepared for any eventuality, but when the terrible news comes that a friend's son has been killed, and then another, and another, we

are in shock. It is difficult to comprehend. The world loses form, becomes blank, numb. And when grief opens the floodgates, the pent-up emotion pours out.

AND WHAT of the mother whose child is hurt and hospitalized. A pretty, young-looking mother in the corridor of an orthopedic ward relates, "My son was hurt one hour before the cease-fire went into effect. Just one hour. It still gives me the chills to think about it. He has had two operations, and will be all right. Thank God, we are so fortunate. He will be all right."

A group of policemen come by bringing gifts for the wounded. "All day there are different groups bringing offerings and greetings for the soldiers," one mother reports. "It cheers them up, makes them feel people care, that the country is with them in their pain." It seems she is expressing her own feeling as well as that of her soldier son.

Thankfully, the majority of soldiers in the orthopedic ward will recover. One mother whose son was slightly wounded from shrapnel even expressed relief. "Thank God, nothing worse can happen to him now."

The situation in the intensive care unit is different. Nurit Woolfson, a perceptive, young social worker in Hadassah's intensive care unit,

works with the families of the critically injured. "We try to be there before the family sees the wounded soldier, to prepare them."

"At first, the family is in shock. They do not know what to do. This is natural. It is a new situation. It's what we call the first stage of mourning, mourning for a potential loss, what they fear they will lose. The mother is more likely to talk about her son, his personality, his life. Sometimes, she idealizes things."

"She usually expresses herself more than the father. She's able to cry, to be dependent, to lean on other people. I've found this true of mothers from all backgrounds. I haven't found that much difference exists in their behaviour, whether Sephardi or Ashkenazi. Perhaps, this is true because they are in a hospital context, which sets up a certain mode of behaviour."

"The father, on the other hand, tries to be stronger, a soldier himself. The mother will also be willing to show anger, to blame someone for the wrong that has befallen her son. She'll blame the army, the boy's officer who sent him in before he was ready to face battle. But she'll express her anger, while the father will not. He'll frequently justify the army's policy, tell his wife that she doesn't know what she is talking about."

"We feel that, in the long run, if the father doesn't somehow express his anger, it can be dangerous from an emotional point of view," explains Dr. Michael Roskin, director of the social work department of Hadassah Hospital. "Depression is anger turned inward. If the parent, or for that matter, the soldier himself doesn't bring the emotion forward and develop adaptive behaviour, to deal with it, this can take its toll later."

"It is the task of the social worker to monitor or guide the parents to

their modes of adjustment. A study in the U.S. indicated that parents of adult children who died were more prone to death themselves within five years after their child's death than parents who had not experienced such losses. It did not happen immediately, but took up to five years for the effects to show."

Nurit continues her observations of the mothers. "Although they cry and ostensibly seem weaker, more dependent, the mothers seem to take more upon themselves. They are often more able to go in and visit their sons, even those in a bad state, and to help them. A mother often tries to protect the father from the unpleasant, even sending him home."

"In general, in times of stress, the dynamic that already exists in the family is intensified. In a few days, everything that has been going on for years comes to the surface. If relationships are bad, they often become intolerable."

How does the mother of a wounded soldier deal with the other children in the family?

"Usually she tries to protect them," says Nurit. "She doesn't bring younger children to the hospital and tries not to cry in front of them. In the case of a critically injured soldier, she can't cope with both the soldier's condition and the younger children, so she puts them aside."

"Most women are healthy," smiles Nurit. "As soon as a mother sees the crisis is over, and her soldier is recuperating, she stops spoiling him, makes it clear that things are expected of him." It has been difficult enough, she says, and as soon as possible, people try to push life back to normal.

It is hard to be a mother in Israel, but there is a midrash that people are given as much as they are strong enough to bear. This dictum directs us, as well as describes us.



Sweet chariots

PUBLIC FACES / Mark Segal

honour of Dorothy de Rothschild, who spoke of herself as rendered "almost speechless" when Mayor Teddy Kollek made her a Freeman of Jerusalem.

In a charming speech full of historical revelations at the centenary dinner party held at the King David Hotel by Knesset Speaker Menachem Begin, he revealed that she was born 13 years after Baron Edmond de Rothschild, her father-in-law, started helping those who were reclaiming Eretz Yisrael. She said that she was on close terms with the baron after she married his son, James, in 1913; the baron always ended his talks about this country's future with "I'ai confiance." She also took the opportunity to announce the retirement of Max Rowe after 34 years as director-general of the foundation, and his replacement by Arthur Fried.

A fitting metaphor

TORA AND FLORA
Louis L. Rabinowitz

For righteousness but behold a cry" (Isaiah 51:7). The word translated "choicest vine" is *sorek*, and Jeremiah repeats it in one single sentence which, however, conveys the same message: "And I planted thee a *sorek*, wholly a right seed. How then art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto Me?" (23:1).

It is in the Song of Songs, however, that the vine, apart from and in addition to, wine, comes into its own. It is remarkable how in this short love poem every single aspect of the plant and its pleasing effect upon every one of the five senses is mentioned.

In 2:15 there appears the vague statement that "our vineyard is

semadar," and Rashi explains simply that the word refers to when the grapes are tiny.

The other two references, however, are more precise. In 6:11 it merely states "Let us get up early to the vineyard and we shall see whether the vine has blossomed," but the relationship between the stage of growth which is called *semadar* and of blossoming is stated in 7:13, which mentions both: "Let us get up early to the vineyard, let us see whether the vine has blossomed and the *semadar* opened."

Again Rashi, who lived in the famous winegrowing country of Champagne, rightly points out that it refers to "when the blossom falls away and the first signs appear of the grapes."

As to its sweet smell, there is the explicit verse (2:13) "And the vines in *semadar* have given forth their fragrance."

And lastly the clusters of grapes themselves. To what are they compared? To the two breasts of the beloved! In 7:8 they are compared merely to "clusters"; in the next verse specifically to "clusters of grapes." The pleasure given by sight, smell...and touch?

THE RABBIS have almost a passion for identifying the people of Israel metaphorically with almost every fruit mentioned in the Bible, but none of them is more justified than that of the vine. It is the subject of two famous passages in the two main prophets, Isaiah and Jeremiah. The first is worthy of quotation *in extenso*:

"Let me sing of my beloved a song of my beloved touching his vineyard

My well beloved had a vineyard in a very fruitful hill. And he digged it and cleared it of stones, and planted it with the choicest vine... and he looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes."

Wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes brought it forth wild grapes?

And now come, I will tell you what I will do to my vineyard... I will lay it waste; it shall not be pruned or hoed, but there shall come up briars and thorns...

For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the House of Israel... And he looked for justice but behold violence.

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hostile to Israel is Art Kent, who is now completing his assignment as NBC bureau chief. The many Israeli friends of Art and his lovely wife, Beverly will be sorry to lose them. Both are going to work for NBC at its Manhattan headquarters - he will be in an executive post in NBC - TV news and she will be with NBC radio. Art's successor is Martin Fletcher.

DIPLOMATIC MOVES. U.S. public affairs counsellor Maurice Lee lately hosted a farewell party for two of his colleagues: cultural attaché Sally Grooms left on Sunday for Washington to become the first director of a new international youth exchange programme. Her successor is Robert Petersen, who

previously served in Latin America. Press attaché Jeff Dieterich is leaving today after an arduous three years here. His replacement is Arthur Berger, who learned to speak Hebrew during his stint at the State Department's Middle East bureau in Washington.

A FINAL WORD. For those Anglophiles who have expressed worry about the name of Prince Charles and Princess Diana's royal offspring, comes from Yitzhak Ben-Ner. On his Gali Zahal radio programme this week, Ben-Ner suggested that the second-in-line to the throne be named "Malvin" or "Stanley" in honour of recent British conquests.

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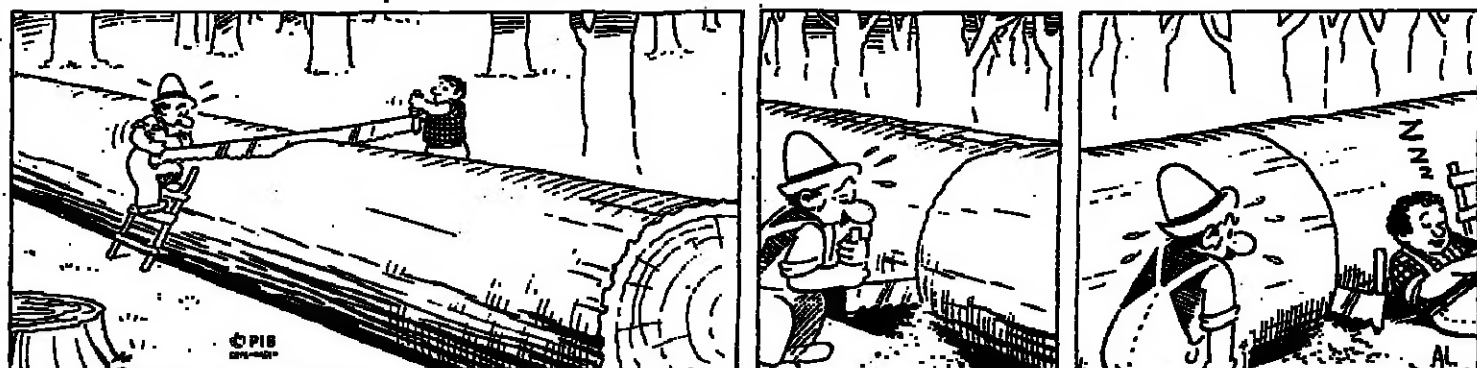
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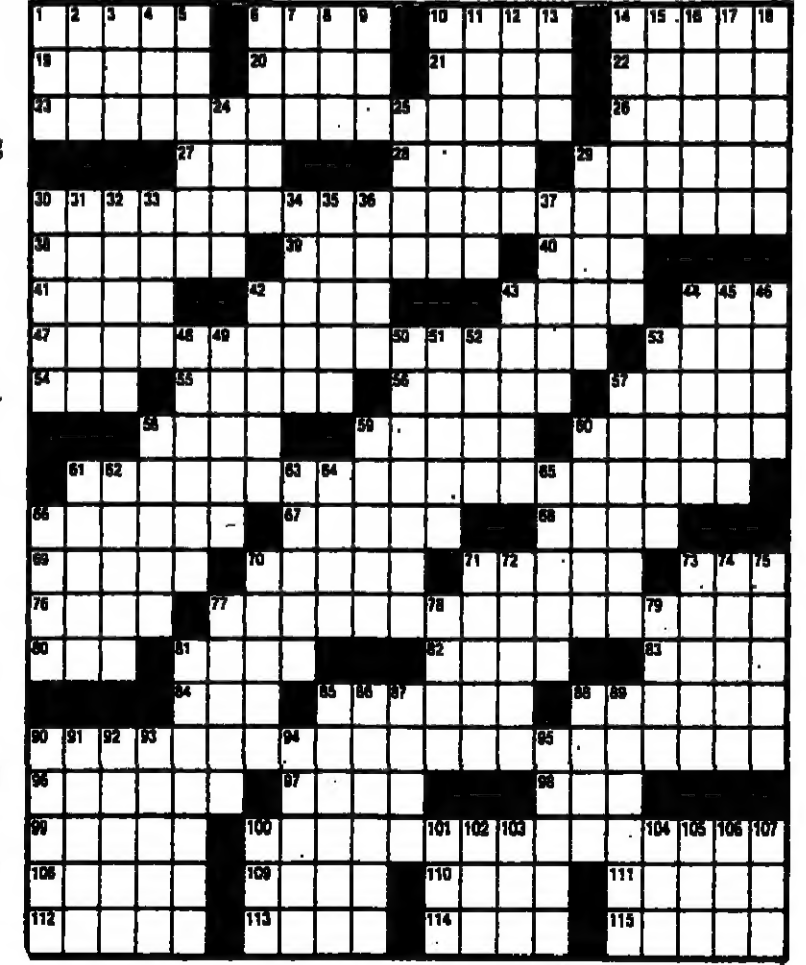
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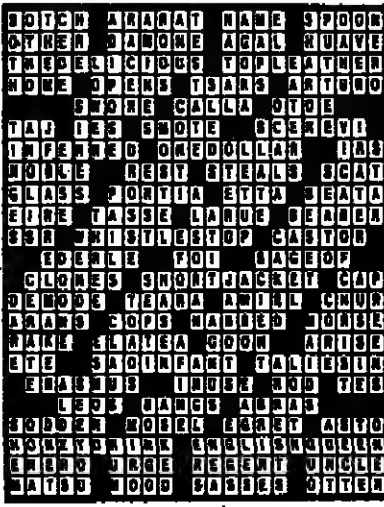
A Father's Day By Tap Osborn/Puzzles Edited by Eugene T. Maleska

- ACROSS**
1 Flintlock
6 Gaff
10 Check
14 Bar at the bar
19 Centaurus star
20 Alleviate
21 — Sound,
Fla.
22 Like Behan's
"Fellow"
23 6:15 A.M.
26 Loosen the
bonds
27 Glass part
28 River into the
Caspian
29 Forwarded
30 7:30 A.M.
38 Rich
39 Ribald
40 Shell adjunct
41 Nobelist Hahn:
1944
42 Lockup unit
43 Too smooth
44 Network
47 8:45 A.M.
53 Aortic
54 Part of H.H.
55 Rain-forest
vine
56 Cantankerous
57 Curt dismissal
58 Profound
59 "... had —
and couldn't
—"
60 Cross or Ross
61 9 A.M.
66 Resemblance
67 Delon of films
68 Sapota or
encina
69 Concord
70 Setting
71 Nitrite is one
73 In the style of
78 Swank
79 9 A.M. to 5
P.M.
80 Grimaldian
81 Epicist
82 Activist
83 Wahhabi, e.g.
84 Maa-saying
ma
85 Occultism
86 Melodious
87 7:15 P.M.
96 Gypsy tongue
97 Male swine



- DOWN**
1 Kind of cat
2 Word of
disgust
3 Interview
4 Victors at the
polls
5 Honor
6 Sordid
7 Mary, in an old
song
8 Bumbler
9 Car created by
Olds
10 Prepares an
egg dish
11 "... squander
what he lived
—"; Bierce
12 Poplar
13 Agree with
14 Buckingham
officer
15 Moslem law
16 Architect
Jacopo: 1486-
1570
17 Sky hunter
18 Hammer parts
24 Luxor's river
25 Repentant one
29 Vapid
30 The clergy
31 Pilant
32 Aquatic
mammal
33 Sheltered
promenade
34 Great quantity
35 Bubble, to
Luigi
36 Snow meter
37 Place mat
42 Leather pants
43 Mates for
harridans
44 First Oscar
film
45 Does a lawn
job
46 A Capetown
citizen
48 Like some
himal days
49 Devoutness
50 Fuller in the
face
51 Schenectady
college
52 Actress
Hildegard
53 Recipient
57 Eloquent
Roman
58 Godhead
59 Hawaiian tree
60 Kind of driver
61 Apia's locale
62 Squeeze out
63 Clubbed
64 Neon or gold:
Abbr.
65 Total
66 Course
70 Virago
71 Kin of a lycée
72 Scotland's
Sound of —
73 City that tires
Detroit
74 Realty
contract
75 — Day
77 Somewhat
sorel
78 Powell
79 Acid —
81 Hash house
85 Refrigerant
88 Nova Scotian
university
87 Cutting
remark
88 A wife of Esau
89 Synge's " —
to the Sea"
90 Homeless one
91 Similar:
Comb. form
92 Overact
93 Almost half the
people
94 Hip part of cat-
tle
95 Glee-club unit
100 Mischief
101 Hole maker
102 Its symbol is X
103 Knowledge
104 Dip bait lightly
105 Nabokov novel
106 Be A-1 at the
Big A
107 Nailing block

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE



Sports

Algeria stun Chile

(AP) — Salah Assad scored again in the 32nd minute, when he took a pass from Abdelmadjid Bourabou and whacked it into the net.

Three minutes later, Bensoula's low shot from inside the box gave Algeria a 3-0 lead.

Chile bounced back in the second half, putting Algeria on the defensive for the first time. Chilean midfielder Miguel Neira narrowed the gap to 3-1 in the 61st minute by netting a penalty shot awarded when Algerian defender Nouredine Kourichi fouled Patricio Yanez.

Substitute Juan Letelier made it 3-2 when he evaded a tackle and clipped the ball into the net past three defenders in the 74th minute.

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Substitute Juan Letelier made it 3-2 when he evaded a tackle and clipped the ball into the net past three defenders in the 74th minute.



Algeria's Assad scores against Chile.

(UPI)

Expos take lead from Cardinals

NEW YORK (AP) — Pitcher Rick Mahler smashed the first home run of his career and hurled a seven-hitter on Wednesday night as the Atlanta Braves downed the Los Angeles Dodgers 7-2.

Mahler's two-run homer off reliever Alejandro Pena capped a four-run outburst in the sixth when the Braves chased Fernando Valenzuela, 9-6, with four consecutive singles.

In other National League contests, Warren Cromartie belted two home runs and Steve Rogers sent

tered eight hits as the Montreal Expos defeated the New York Mets 5-0 to take over first place in the National League East by percentage points over St. Louis.

In the American League, Jim Palmer pitched seven strong innings to gain his 253rd lifetime victory. Eddie Murray drove home the winning run with an eighth-inning double and Cal Ripken Jr. homered and singled for a pair of RBIs as the Baltimore Orioles downed the Cleveland Indians 3-1.

STANDINGS	
American League	
Eastern Division	
Boston	42 25 .621
Milwaukee	37 30 .552
Detroit	35 29 .547
Baltimore	35 29 .547
Cleveland	32 33 .492
New York	31 33 .484
Toronto	32 37 .464
Western Division	
California	41 26 .612
Kansas	39 27 .591
Chicago	38 29 .567
Seattle	36 35 .507
Oakland	30 41 .423
Texas	24 38 .387
Minnesota	17 54 .239
Wednesday's games	
Toronto 5, Seattle 3, 11 in	
Kansas 1, Oakland 0	
Boston 16, Detroit 4	

National League	
Eastern Division	
Montreal	38 27 .585
St. Louis	40 29 .580
Philadelphia	34 32 .515
New York	34 33 .507
Pittsburgh	30 34 .469
Chicago	26 44 .371
Western Division	
Atlanta	41 26 .612
San Diego	36 30 .545
Los Angeles	36 34 .516
San Francisco	31 39 .443
Cincinnati	30 38 .441
Houston	29 39 .426
Wednesday's games	
Montreal 5, New York 0	
Chicago 6, Pittsburgh 5, 10 in	
Cincinnati 5, San Diego 4	
Atlanta 7, Los Angeles 2	
San Francisco 9, Houston 8	
Philadelphia 7, St. Louis 1	

French go through

SOLID (AP) — Antonin scored an 85th-minute goal to give Czechoslovakia a 1-1 France here yesterday — Czechs nevertheless were from the World Cup.

who now have three in their three Group Four all advance to the second round of the tournament.

less England lose by more goals to Kuwait in their game today, Kuwait France if they could achieve a victory.

ult confirmed England as winner.

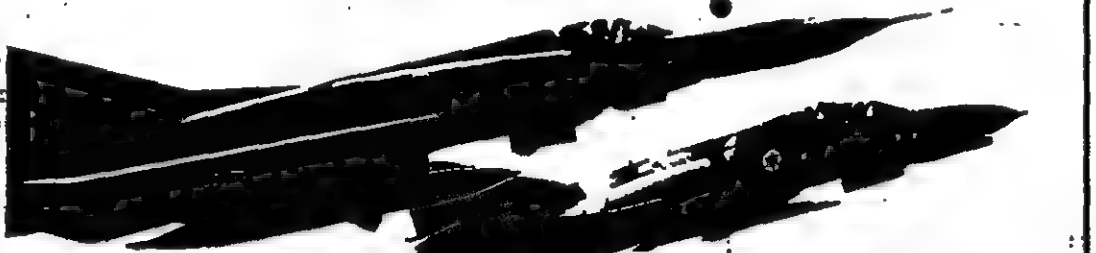
Six scored a 66th minute goal to give France a 1-0 lead and deadlock. The Czechs hit Panenka's penalty after Vizek was fouled by Max.

subsequently became the in the tournament to be French, particularly their

Brazil romp

MADRID, Reuter. — Champions Argentina reached the second round of the World Cup Finals with a teichy 2-0 win over El Salvador on Wednesday night, while favorites Brazil romped to a lighthearted 4-0 victory over New Zealand.

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Shlomo gives Teacher a fright

Post Sports Staff

Shlomo Glickstein seemed to have his match against Brian Teacher at Wimbledon in the bag, but he failed to tuck it away, and eventually lost a marathon five-setter 3-6, 7-6, 6-4, 4-6, 6-2.

Fred Perry, three times Wimbledon winner and undoubtedly the best player in the world in his era, commented on the BBC: "Glickstein's was a very good effort. He started out firmly, coping with everything Teacher threw at him. Glickstein must be kicking himself when he looks back at the match. After winning the first set 6-3 the Israeli footled away a tremendous 5-0 advantage in the second set tiebreaker, and then a 6-2 advantage, to lose the set 9-7. He was never really the same again after this, even though he did manage to take the fourth set. Teacher can consider himself lucky to have won."

Botham batters

MANCHESTER (Reuter). — England's Ian Botham stole the spotlight after Chris Tavare and Geoff Cook provided a solid foundation for England's first innings in the first day of the second test. England ended the day with 239 for five wickets.

In a sparkling display, Botham cracked 10 fours on his way to a half-century off only 46 balls.

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Jerusalem	6.11 p.m.	7.31 p.m.
Tel Aviv	6.29 p.m.	7.34 p.m.
Haifa	6.21 p.m.	7.38 p.m.
Bnei Brak	6.26 p.m.	7.34 p.m.
Elitz	6.22 p.m.	7.27 p.m.

Torah portion: Mitzat

JERUSALEM
Yeshurun, 44 King George, Fri. Mincha 6.30
Shabbat, Shabbat 8, Mincha 12.45, 6.10,
Mazur 7.30.

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p.m. Shabbat, 8.00 a.m. Mincha 6.30 p.m.
Ma'ariv 7.25 p.m. CANTOR: NAFTALI
HERSTIK and CHOR.

World Council of Synagogues (Conservative), 4
Agnes, Fri. Mincha 6.30 p.m. Shabbat 8.30
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Priesthood/Relief Society (Sat.)	9.30 a.m.
Sabbath School (Sat.)	10.40 a.m.
Worship Service (Sat.)	10.40 a.m.
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Galler: 15 Shlomo Hamelch, Tiberias	9.30 a.m.
Priesthood/Relief Society (Sat.)	10.30 a.m.
Sabbath School (Sat.)	11.15 a.m.
Worship Service (Sat.)	11.15 a.m.
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Shimshon, 19, private

The Post's David Krivine reviews 'Years of Upheaval,' the second volume of Henry Kissinger's memoirs

Lessons from Kissinger



THIS THOROUGHLY pragmatic approach has antagonized many critics. Kissinger's stand is not sufficiently ideological; it is neither black nor white. The public divides into self-regarding conservatives, who like brazenly to take, and self-denying liberals, who like profusely to give.

Kissinger believes in give and take. His policy towards the Soviet Union embraced both coexistence and deterrence. He championed the policy of détente, but that had to include a strategy of containment.

It is all very rational, there is no room for the burst of idealism or the generous impulse. He is a hard bargainer, he does not make any concessions unless and until he gets a resounding counter-concession in return.

He takes up the tragic tale of America's failure in Vietnam, continuing where he left off in the first volume of his memoirs, *White House*

Years. Nixon and Kissinger inherited that war from their predecessors and wanted to halt it, if only because it had become intensely unpopular. The battle against Hanoi had been at first a brave rescue operation; now that the war wasn't getting anywhere, the pressure was for scuttle.

Kissinger knew that without deterrence there could not be coexistence. He negotiated the Paris Agreement, which was supposed to ensure the continued independence of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for that, jointly with Hanoi's Le Duc Tho.

It was, says Kissinger laconically, a cause of wonder that "a representative of a country which had invaded all neighbouring countries could win a peace prize for making a cease-fire that even then it was violating in every provision." The U.S. could not prevent

Hanoi from violating those provisions, because Congress placed a ban on all American military activity in South-East Asia. A peace treaty without military backing is a scrap of paper. Those who denounced Saigon's warmonger regime have been strangely silent about the fraternal strife in Indo-China since the fighting there was supposedly terminated.

The only difference the Paris Agreement made to Hanoi was that it got the Americans off their shoulders. South Vietnam was promptly overrun and conquered, in defiance of every clause in the treaty.

Cambodia could have been saved by a coalition between Prince Norodom Sihanouk, heading the Communist Khmer Rouge, and the more moderate elements supporting Lon Nol. Chou En-lai of China agreed to that. But again Congress decided to

ban all bombing in Cambodia. The Khmer Rouge took the hint. They shook off Sihanouk and assumed sole power, undisturbed. Three million Cambodian citizens paid with their lives for that. Conscience-stricken, Kissinger returned his prize to the Nobel committee. (They would not take it).

THE LESSONS were clear. If the West lays down arms, the Communists will not be spurred by comradely enthusiasm to do the same. What they will do is take over the West. Therefore the democratic countries need to show solidarity.

Eisenhower was mistaken, Kissinger says, in joining hands with the Soviets against his British, French and Israeli friends in the 1956 Suez war. He may have disagreed with their policies, but when the chips were down he should have stood by his allies in their ordeal.

This betrayal had negative side-effects. It encouraged a European dissociation from the Atlantic alliance. Reverberations were still felt almost two decades later. Europe did not allow American overflights to supply Israel during the October war.

This was itself a breach of solidarity. The EEC countries said they feared the oil embargo. But according to Kissinger's philosophy, appeasement intensifies embargoes. Always negotiate from strength, he believes. Strength is achieved by unity. "An alliance for whose vitality partners are not prepared to curtail their freedom of action is on the way to disintegration."

Britain, as it happens, rediscovered the validity of that truism during the recent war in the Falkland Islands. Her allies had their own interests to consider, they did not want to antagonize all of Latin America over a dispute that did not, after all, endanger Britain's survival.

Yet the British were outraged when the Europeans and the Americans took a moderately independent stand, and only partially supported them. The clamour from London was for unqualified backing: anything less than that was a breach of trust.

Yet Britain had not stood by her ally, the United States, during the Yom Kippur War. She denied bases to the Americans not only for their airlift to Israel, but even for their supersonic high-altitude reconnaissance flights over the Middle East.

Kissinger disagreed with the British over that, but would (quite consistently) agree with them; I think over their demand for support in the Falklands dispute. Loyalty imposes its own disciplines. The Europeans have fallen short on loyalty to their transatlantic partners.

Besides, there is hypocrisy in this separatism. Bleeding-heart policies are all very well, provided there is someone behind to pick up the pieces. "They [the Europeans] pretended to their public that they were more peace-loving than the United States, secure in the knowledge that we would continue to hold the ring against the Soviet Union." Keenest saboteur of Atlantic

unity was Georges Pompidou's foreign minister, Michel Jobert — fortunately in power not for long. I cannot resist quoting an example of the impish humour that runs through the book. This time at Jobert's expense:

"Jobert's visit [to the U.S.] was best epitomized by a disastrous dinner I gave for him in Los Angeles," Kissinger recalls. Jobert rose to reply to Kissinger's toast, and spoke in French. Danny Kaye interrupted to say that since Jobert spoke excellent English, could he not use that tongue. "Jobert replied coldly that he was speaking in French for the benefit of the party travelling with him. Danny Kaye offered to solve this problem by interpreting."

Jobert, to Kissinger's amazement, acquiesced. "He delivered an elegant enough toast in English, which Danny proceeded to render in a stentorian voice in his wholly nonsensical double-talk version of French." The intonation was so good that the guests took several minutes to realize they were being put on. "Jobert seemed not amused."

KISSINGER IS hard-headed. He does not denounce wars, he tries to find out why they happen and to remove their causes. Why did none, either in Israel or in the U.S., foresee Egypt's attack on Yom Kippur 1973? Because nobody realized that a government could launch a war that it knew it could not win.

Sadat's objective was not to defeat Israel, but to secure a better negotiating position for himself by achieving a partial success. The superpowers would stop the fighting, with Egypt's self-respect restored. It was a reasonable calculation.

Kissinger does not moralize heavily about the rights and wrongs of military combat. Like a physician or a psychiatrist, he sees armed strife as a symptom of maladjustment and seeks to correct the maladjustment, this being the only way to deflect the hostilities.

Applying Kissinger's vision and approach to the current situation, one would argue that Israel has to negotiate her way out of her impasse in the Middle East, since the alternative is continued bloodletting. It is an asset to negotiate from strength, and Israel's victory in the Lebanon should, paradoxically, make it easier to achieve an understanding. The extent of Israel's triumph should give her the confidence to make concessions she might have feared to offer before. The book now turns to what peace-making — to work out what kind of settlement might be acceptable in the last extremity to the Jordanians, the Syrians — and the Israelis.

There is such a solution. The only question is how much time must pass and how much blood must be shed before it is discovered. Kissinger's book suggests that jaw-jaw is a necessary sequel to war-war if the end-purpose is to achieve a peaceful settlement.

"Years of Upheaval" is published by Weidenfeld and Nicolson and Michael Joseph (1288 pp. £15.95).

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SIDON. — The panelled office is dark because the electricity is not working yet in this part of Sidon, but there is enough light coming through the thick curtains to see the hint of emotion on Fawzi's business-like face.

"I may be ashamed to say it, but I must tell you — we are glad that the Israelis came, despite all the damage that has happened to this city, and the people killed. We had become refugees in our own city, and the Palestinians the master. If the Israelis had not come, we would have had to fight the Palestinians ourselves."

Fawzi is a Sunni Moslem, as are the Palestinians who make up at least a fourth of Sidon's population. He is a prosperous businessman from one of the old families of Sidon. With him in his office is his younger brother Rafik, who finished law studies in Cairo three years ago and Mohammed, an engineer friend.

"When the Palestinian refugees first arrived here, they stayed in the mosques and people took them into their homes," says Fawzi. "Only later they settled in the Ain Hilwe 'Sweet Spring' refugee camp. Relations for a long time were very good. They were good workers, and we needed them in construction and agriculture. They worked day and night to advance themselves. We were relatively few Lebanese here, and their coming brought an economic boom."

Rafik, who had many Palestinian classmates in school, describes them as bright and ambitious. "They even studied under the light of street lamps, because they had no electricity, and they were almost first in class. Many went on to American University in Beirut and then took good jobs in Kuwait or Saudi Arabia."

The situation changed radically when the internal struggles began in Lebanon about seven years ago, and the Palestinians in Sidon began to carry arms openly. An air of intimidation was felt in the city, as Palestinian toughs became increasingly brazen.

"They liked to take Mercedes or sports cars," says Fawzi, "and if you saw some of them trying to break into your car at night and you went out, they wouldn't run away — they'd demand the keys and you had better give it to them."

"If a Palestinian bought one of

THE END OF A NIGHTMARE

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH / Jerusalem Post Reporter



(Rahumim Israeli)

my products and then came back a few days later and returned it, I had to accept, it even though he had already used it. If I didn't, he would come back with some big fellows or there would be a bomb in one of my shops.

"From the age of 15, they began to give orders. A lot of them would dress like cowboys with boots and jeans. There always would be incidents involving slapping or shooting. If you were driving and tried to pass one of these people, and he didn't like it, he might shoot. Not all the Palestinians were like this, but enough. The situation was getting worse and worse, every year, every day."

"We had become second class citizens in our own land. They, the Palestinians, would ask us, the Lebanese, for our identity cards. We felt that we were becoming the weak ones, and they the strong ones."

MOHAMMED, a bachelor in his late 20s, says the terror halted any form of social life. "You finish working at five and go straight home and watch television, because

if you go out at night, you don't know whether you'll come back."

All other major religious groupings in Lebanon organized to defend themselves from the Palestinians, says Fawzi, and the Sunnis, who are the bulk of Sidon's population, were on the verge of doing the same. "It had begun in Tripoli between Sunnis on one side, and Palestinians and Syrians on the other."

"But it spread here about a month ago. There was a fight, a lot of buildings were burned. If Israel hadn't come, an explosion between the Sunnis and the Palestinians was inevitable. Until now we didn't feel we had the strength. We didn't have the arms."

"We didn't have the courage," says his younger brother, Fawzi, glances at him but says nothing. Does their view represent a majority view among Sidon's Moslems?

"Everybody feels this way," says Fawzi. The poor people spoke out before the Israelis came. We rich people were afraid of speaking, because we could get a bomb in our stores."

The arrival of the Israelis had been a thunderbolt. Planes had dropped leaflets on the second day of the war, warning residents that the town was about to be bombed and telling them they had two hours to flee. Fawzi estimates that about one-third fled to the mountains. The remainder crowded into shelters. He was among those who stayed. "I was afraid that if I left, I might not be able to come back, and that I would become a refugee. I had invested too much sweat in my business to leave. I told my brother we will stay here, and if we have to, we will die here."

They emerged from the shelters after the Israelis arrived to find widespread destruction. "The damage was too much. The Israeli Army could have done it with less," Fawzi cites the figure of 1,500 dead given by the Red Cross, but Israeli authorities insist the figure is no higher than 400.

NEVERTHELESS, the three men say Israel must not leave Lebanon until it has cleared the entire country of armed Palestinians and Syrians as well. "Otherwise, the Palestinians and Syrians will return," says Fawzi. It is a job, they say, that the Lebanese themselves are incapable of doing. Before Israel leaves, says Fawzi, it must ensure the establishment of a small, central government and help the Lebanese army find its feet.

"No other army could have done what the Israelis did in Lebanon this quickly and efficiently," says Rafik. "Not the Americans, not the Russians, not the Chinese."

What solution do they see for the Palestinians? Says Fawzi: "Perhaps those who came after 1948 would stay on as Lebanese citizens. Many of them live among us in a normal way and are welcome. Those who came after 1967 would go back where they came from or to Syria and Jordan."

Did they not hate the Israelis for the damage wreaked on this city and on their homes? "We don't hate the Israelis for doing it," says Fawzi. "We were under the thumb of the PLO for so long, and we could smell that they were getting ready to take our place."

Says young Rafik: "We had been paying every minute to the Palestinians. If not us, then other Lebanese. Now we have paid once, in cash, and for ever."

Ari Rafi
Editor and
Managing Director

THE JERUSALEM
POST

Erwin Frenkel
Editor

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Guns with no answers

WHAT ARE Israel's present objectives in Lebanon? And how far is Israel prepared to go in pursuit of those objectives?

The questions are easier asked than answered. The cabinet sat four hours yesterday in its capacity as the ministerial committee on defence, but since the proceedings of such meetings are barred from publication, little light was shed. All that can be stated with any certainty at the moment is that, 18 full days after the start of Operation Peace for Galilee, Israeli forces are very far from Galilee's northern border, and that, despite a formal cease-fire, the forces are locked in ceaseless combat with the PLO in West Beirut and with the Syrians just east of the Lebanese capital.

The official explanation for the new war with the Syrians is that the latter keep breaking the cease-fire and provoking fights. The exchanges of fire, the IDF's spokesman insists, are not initiated by Israeli troops and they are not designed to improve the IDF's position along the strategic Beirut-Damascus highway. It is, in other words, merely the inevitable result of the exchanges, in which the IDF has by far the upper hand that Israel's position keeps relentlessly improving. But is there not also, on the side, the intention here to push the Syrians out from as much of Lebanon as possible?

In an appearance before the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee yesterday, Defence Minister Sharon made it official that the ouster of "all foreign forces" from Lebanon was Israel's wider war purpose, beyond the "minimum objective" of setting up a 40km. buffer zone in the southern part of the country.

The foreign forces due for expulsion would, of course, include the PLO forces now surrounded, and under merciless fire from the IDF, in West Beirut. On the face of it Israel would be prepared to allow the 6,000-odd terrorists, and their leaders, in the Moslem Quarter to depart peacefully after laying down their arms. What is not clear is where they would depart to. One unnamed source has been quoted as suggesting that some non-contiguous Arab country would be greatly favoured. But this has not been made an explicit condition of peaceful settlement.

In discussions with the Lebanese Committee for National Salvation, and U.S. envoy Philip Habib, the PLO has put forward rather different terms. The terrorists are offering, not to leave town, but to withdraw to their camps and assemble their arms there, letting the Lebanese army police West Beirut — but only after the IDF has withdrawn a distance of five to ten kilometres from its present positions around West Beirut.

Israel has turned these terms down, stating that Israeli forces could not be withdrawn from West Beirut unless and until the PLO troops have first vacated it. To accede to the PLO's demands, sources here have said, would be to prevent the Lebanese government from taking control of its own capital. But this has not been the position of the Lebanese authorities themselves. The Committee for National Salvation is reported to have accepted the PLO terms, except that it does not wish the ramshackle Lebanese army itself to serve as the buffer between the PLO and the IDF.

The committee would much rather have an international peace-keeping force, which in effect means UNIFIL, undertake that task. Such an expansion of UNIFIL's functions, anywhere in Lebanon, would be most unwelcome to Israel. What this country is plumping for, at the moment, is a multinational force that would take over from the ineffective UNIFIL in the south, and would not be subject to the jurisdiction of the Security Council. It is not the nature of the proposed peace-keeping force for West Beirut that would make it anathema to Israel, but its very principle. The solution to the problem of West Beirut envisaged by Israel, or at least certainly by Mr. Sharon, does not feature any peace-keeping force.

He prefers a military solution. Since the terrorists cannot be brought to their knees by peaceful means, nor even through a protracted siege, the only alternative is to storm West Beirut. This would cost the lives of more Israeli soldiers, but it would be the only acceptable compensation for the losses already sustained. For it would represent the final triumph of Israeli arms. The PLO would be finished, and then, and only then, a government could arise in Lebanon which would make peace with Israel.

The establishment of such a government, Mr. Sharon assured the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, was the third Israeli war aim, after the ouster of "all foreign forces."

How truly such a government would be master in its own house and willing to make peace with Israel, how reasonable it is to expect that the Syrians would leave Lebanon, and how correct it is to assume that the PLO can in fact be stamped out by arms — these are questions which remain unanswered.

POSTSCRIPTS

PS A BEERSHEBA reader wishes the British royal family a hearty *mazal tov* on the birth of the heir to the throne, and passes on the following thought:

Considering British politics, it wouldn't have surprised me if a newspaper had printed this headline: "Lady Diana in Labour, Conservatives Demand Equal Time."

PS THE Israel Productivity Institute, which gives advice to private firms and government offices on how to improve their performance, should at its own house in order first.

The May issue of the institute's monthly, *Hanifal*, was printed with ozens of duplicate pages, and in a number of other places the pages could not be opened because they had not been cut properly.

The highlight of the issue, however, was an English summary of the lead article, which read like a computer translation of the thoughts of Chairman Mao. A sample:

"Militation in work relationships arises, mainly, from fears, to which man is pushed out of un-negotiated."

Another gem: "As little as possible governmental interference increases the chance, that transaction results will portray the economy's ability."

A translation of the translation as not provided. Maybe one will appear in the next issue. C.H.

PS Information on embroideries, wall hangings, Tora mantles and other Judaic textile pieces that escaped destruction in the Holocaust, is being sought by the Pomegranate Guild of Judaic Needlework in Great Neck, New York. It is also looking for fibre art projects that were designed as memorials to the victims of the Holocaust.

The guild is an international organization devoted to the encouragement of Judaic needlework. Anyone who does such work is invited to be a member. The guild can be reached through Eleanor Taub, 12 Welwyn Road, Great Neck, New York, 11021. J.S.

PS Memorial volumes that have been published as historical tributes to Jewish communities destroyed in the Holocaust are being collected by the Miami-based American Anti-Nazi Association for the University of Florida at Gainesville. The university is establishing a special unit for these *sifrei zikaron*, which were published by *landsmanchaften*, the communal organizations in Eastern Europe. The university believes that the books will be useful to genealogists.

Every donation will be acknowledged and a proper inscription placed in each volume. The books can be sent to the anti-Nazi association at P.O. Box 6194, Miami Beach 33154, or to the Price Library of Judaica, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, 32611. J.S.

THE LIES GO UNANSWERED

By CHAIM HERZOG

ISRAEL'S military operation in Lebanon has been successful, and this has created the basis for a possible political solution, given the correct negotiation position.

What Israel has lost, unfortunately, is public opinion. Once again, Israel has failed to explain itself adequately and has been unable to place the Lebanese operation in its correct perspective. It is true that the international media has engaged in a gross distortion of facts, and that in some cases there has been a considerable degree of bias in the presentation of these facts. Much of this could have been avoided had not the whole issue of information been shunted aside and ignored — once again — until it was too late.

I have always believed that successive Israeli governments failed in the battle for information because of the inherent self-centred approach of its leaders, each of whom has thought that he or she could solve the problem of information by appearing on *Meet the Press* or *Face the Nation*.

Nothing is further from the truth. Such appearances help, but they cannot replace what is essential — an information campaign that operates 24 hours a day, 365 days a year.

IT HAS ALWAYS been my contention that Israel required a ministry of information; that one individual at the cabinet table should have the subject of information as his sole concern and purpose.

True, the foreign minister is responsible for the subject today. But having regard to the major political problems that he and his ministry face, it is utterly unrealistic to expect him to be able to give the necessary priority to information. The Foreign Ministry and the embassies abroad did important and yeoman work, but in the event — in the light of the impression that exists abroad — it was obviously inadequate.

What is worse, it has obviously directly affected Israel's political position, particularly in Europe. Indeed, the comments emanating from Europe indicate an abysmal ignorance of what is going on in Lebanon, and that the policy of many countries is being dictated by the image created abroad, not necessarily by the facts.

THE OPERATION in Lebanon has been on the cards for some time. Indeed, on a number of occasions Israel appeared to be on the verge

of launching such an operation. In other words, all who could possibly have been involved had received adequate notice. There was no reason whatsoever, therefore, for the information failure which characterized the operation.

I am convinced that the operation orders issued to the IDF were technically perfect in every detail, but this was a classic case in which there should have been one additional paragraph to all the paragraphs normally included in an operation order — a paragraph on the information problem which Israel would face in the event of such an operation.

The world was exposed to pictures of devastation and damage, particularly in the areas of Tyre, Sidon, Damour and Southern Beirut. But the world was not told that this war has been going on for the past seven years.

The television cameras zoomed in on the damage, which is considerable, and presented a very unpleasant picture, without specifying when the damage had occurred.

The devastation in Damour was filmed as Israeli tanks and forces passed through. But nobody mentioned in dispatches abroad that Damour was a Christian township whose population had been massacred and its survivors exiled by the PLO in the bitter fighting of 1976/77.

In Tyre the other day, I noticed a building by the port in ruins, weeds growing out of the ruins. My inquiries led to the confirmation that the building had indeed been destroyed some years earlier. But its destruction has been attributed by the media to the current crisis.

WHERE THE Israeli information effort failed and where the Western media was less than honest was in failing to emphasize that Lebanon has been torn by a civil war, frequently unparalleled in its brutality, since 1975. The towns and countryside abound in unfinished buildings, the construction of which was abandoned long before the Israelis entered the scene.

Figures for casualties and refugees — in thousands, tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands — were bandied about by the international media.

Official statements issued by the various Red Cross organizations first gave a total of 600,000 refugees,

which amounted to more than the total population of Southern Lebanon under Israeli control. This figure was soon reduced to 300,000 refugees. Later it came down even more — to 70,000 refugees — and the figure now being put out is 30,000 homeless.

Without in any way wishing to diminish the seriousness or tragic nature of this number, it still bears no relation to the figures which were broadcast around the world by the media without any form of prior confirmation. No only were the figures inflated abroad; they were inflated by the Israeli media, too.

The international media suggested that 10,000 had been killed, mostly in Tyre and Sidon. The Bishop of Tyre told me only the other day that the number of civilians buried in Tyre as a result of the recent operations was about 50.

The losses attributed to Sidon were initially in the order of 4,000, of which 1,500 were reported to have been killed. Last week, the number fell to 400. And the official figures released now by the local authorities in Sidon indicate that about 100 were killed.

Again, without wishing to diminish the seriousness of these figures, there is an enormous discrepancy between what the world has been told and what has, in fact, occurred.

THE PICTURE that emerged from talking to the local inhabitants was that in the area which had been a PLO mini-state, there had been little or no development over the years. Much of the damage that had occurred in the fighting over the years had not been repaired, and the area had been affected by a tendency to neglect and despair on the part of the local Lebanese inhabitants.

This picture, together with the contrast created by the reception given to the Israeli troops by the local population, received very little coverage abroad. I and a number of colleagues from the Knesset found it incongruous to walk the streets of Beirut and be greeted everywhere when we were recognized with smiles and words of welcome.

It was no less strange for us to picnic in one of the city's parks together with the Sunday crowds who gathered around and engaged us in discussion.

It was even more incongruous to

come upon an Israeli unit in a suburb of Beirut with troops sharing lunch in their dining tent with the local children, who seemed to have adopted the unit.

THE PICTURE in Lebanon is one of unbelievable anomalies and incomprehensible incongruities. Thus, one encountered an endless stream of vehicles on the outskirts of Beirut moving from that city into the area controlled by the IDF.

This is surely an unusual war, with the local population streaming back into the area controlled by the "invader." If ever the enormous distance between the ordinary man in the street and the bankrupt politicians who lead him was evident, it is in Lebanon today.

There are glib individuals who seem to believe that war can be harmless and not necessarily unpleasant. There can be no gainsaying the tragedy of the destruction and death which the war has caused in the Lebanon.

But as one who has seen war at its worst in Europe, I believe that there was a very considerable degree of exaggeration in describing the effects of the Lebanese operation. I well recall fighting across the friendly countries of France, Belgium and Holland before reaching Germany, and the enormous destruction and devastation which was caused there to property and to a friendly civilian population.

THE PROBLEM facing every commander is the relationship of damage to the losses which might be incurred by his own forces. From what I could see on the ground and from what I heard from the various commanders, a conscious effort had been made to spare the population and the buildings, as the Israeli commanders in the field faced the inevitable question of physical damage and possible civilian losses weighed against the lives of their own soldiers.

Incidentally, it seems that well over 60 per cent of the damage incurred in the fighting could be repaired, provided the necessary supplies are available, within approximately three months.

An aspect which seems to have been completely ignored in Israeli *hasbara* is that not a single Lebanese authority or group, apart from the extreme left-wing, has condemned the Israeli operation. The contrary

is true: all parties seem to believe that there is now a heaven-sent opportunity to bring stability to Lebanon.

The prospects opening up for Lebanon today are enormous, but the media reporting from Israel seems to be making little of this.

There is much talk of various forms of cease-fire arrangement with the PLO in Beirut, but nobody seems to have bothered to emphasize that since the beginning of the civil war and following the Cairo agreement between the PLO and the Lebanese Government, some 114 agreements have been signed between the PLO and the Lebanese Government. Not one of them has been honoured; not one of them is worth the paper it was written on.

This, too, is an aspect which has received little or no emphasis in the information campaign, which has itself not been particularly evident.

ISRAEL'S information effort has failed because of lack of planning, an apparent lack of means, a lack of imagination and the inevitable over-centralization, both in the military and in the government.

A major political problem has thus been created for Israel. But it is more than a political problem; it is a Jewish problem, because it has directly affected the attitudes of many Jewish communities which have been fed on false and incomplete information.

There was also an aspect to this whole information problem which I find utterly incomprehensible; namely, that at a time when Israel's troops are fighting on the battlefield, political considerations were allowed to affect the national effort. This has never happened in the past and should not have been allowed to happen now.

I certainly never dreamed that in Israel the electronic media would place a ban on the appearance of individuals to interpret the fighting and political developments (I am speaking from personal experience) because they are involved in politics.

The specific case itself may be of no importance and may indeed be irrelevant, but in terms of its implications, in terms of its reflection of the basic approach to the problems of *hasbara*, it must give rise to much concern.

The writer is a former member of military intelligence and is now a Labour M.K.

READERS' LETTERS

THE IMPORTANCE OF ALIYA

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — I read Aryeh Rubinstein's recent article, "The aliyah vacuum," with great interest and anger. As a new aliyah from the United States, my biggest shock here has been the apparent lack of consensus among Israeli leaders on aliyah.

I have come to believe that aliyah is the most vital factor for the survival of the Jewish people and the State of Israel because of the reasons cited in this article. These reasons seem like accepted facts to me. Are they? In America, I heard many prominent Israelis speak. If aliyah was mentioned at all, it was said in passing, but never given prominence.

It seems that the question of how to promote aliyah is now secondary to the question of why our leaders

are not promoting it at all.

While in America, I tried to encourage others to move here and became convinced that aliyah must be encouraged by those in Israel. When people would tell me, "I would like to move to Israel but can do more by living in America and sending money," I could not refute this because the Government of Israel gives these people sanction by saying how badly their money is needed and not mentioning aliyah at all.

What is the possibility of introducing and passing a Knesset resolution which states something like, "aliyah is the essential factor for the survival of Israel and the Jewish People. It is the primary obligation of every Jew."

RON GROSS

Herziya.

PROMOTING ALIYA FROM BRITAIN

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — I would like to thank the numerous British immigrants who have agreed to be contacts for our "In Touch" scheme.

With the invaluable help of the British Olim Society, the Union of Jewish Students of Great Britain and Ireland has compiled a file of British olim who are willing to correspond with Jewish students in Great Britain about living in Israel.

The immigrants are listed according to profession and the area of Israel in which they live. We match British students who are considering aliyah with olim in a similar

professional field. The student can ask questions about the immigrant's experiences within Israel and the reply that he/she receives will give him/her a realistic, yet more positive approach to aliyah. Ideally, the participating students will also meet their Israeli correspondents on visits to Israel.

The scheme has been greeted with great enthusiasm on all sides and we would welcome the involvement of other British olim who can contact me at the Union of Jewish Students, 4 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

CHANY ROBINSON



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To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — In his letter of June 14, Professor Alvin Radosky of Tel Aviv University tells us that "nuclear fission is the safest, cleanest, cheapest and most reliable way of generating power." I doubt if those involved in the near disaster at the Enrico Fermi plant in Michigan or the Three Mile Island plant in Pennsylvania would agree.

As for being the cleanest form of energy, I wonder how many years it will be before the Fermi plant can even be approached and workmen allowed to enter to begin decontamination work? And how does the professor suggest we clean up and dispose of the atomic waste, now straining the storage facilities of American atomic plants, a major and as yet unsolved problem of the world's atomic energy industry? Almost daily we read of plants being shut down throughout the world due to dangerous malfunction, leaks of poisonous fumes and countless other problems, which leads one to

NUCLEAR POWER

question the reliability of which he speaks.

As for being the cheapest form of energy, it might very well be in theory, if one chooses to disregard the costs to consumers and governments of plants like Fermi that are a total loss, yet must still be guarded for countless years until they "cool down" enough to dismantle. In the United States, the most advanced and experienced country of all in this field, the cost of insuring power plants against possible damage to the surrounding environment is so high that only the federal government can afford to pay the premiums by taxing the people, all the people, in order for the power companies to sell their electricity "cheap." Insurance companies in the U.S., whose business it is to accurately judge and evaluate potential risk, exclude coverage for losses due to contamination or damages from atomic energy plants, from all

homeowners' insurance policies.

When one adds all the costs, hidden, subsidized and yet to come, from waste disposal, perhaps this is the costliest form of energy of all.

In a country the size of Israel, the potential danger of atomic catastrophe from accident or terrorist bomb far outweighs even the economic consideration.

MURRAY SWERDLOVE
Netanya.

PENFRIENDS

LIONEL AROKIASAMY (30), of Post Box 64, Galle, Sri Lanka, would like to have Israeli penfriends. He is interested in stamps, photography, movies and sports.

DAVID SUNESSON (24), of Frihetsvagen, 27, S-17533 Jarfalla, Sweden, would like to correspond with young Israeli women of his own age.

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